

The Coming GOP Sellout?—Kate O'Beirne

NATIONAL REVIEW

WRINKLIES ON A ROLL: How AARP Stays One Step Ahead

Beyond Term Limits: Randomizing Congress

Souter Courts The Left

Clutching at Straws in Iowa

Reforming Welfare Reform

— The Editors

#BXNCMY6 *****5-DIGIT 94
#94301UZZ558Y003# 9713



X4 NTRV P00011
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE BOMBAY SAPPHIRE MARTINI. AS CELEBRATED BY MILTON GLASER.

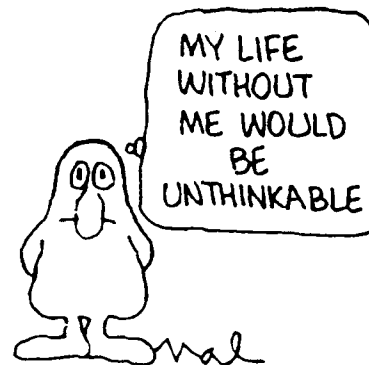
P O U R S O M E T H I N G P R I C E L E S S .

Bombay® Sapphire™ Gin, 47% alc/vol (94 Proof), 100% neutral spirits. ©1992 Carillon Importers, LTD., Teaneck, N.J. ©1992 Milton Glaser.

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 11, 1995 VOL. XLVII, NO. 17



COVER STORY

44 *Golden Oldies*

It's time to retire AARP's tax-exempt status, says **Thomas McArdle**, if it keeps forgetting that it represents older Americans—and not just old, liberal positions.

ARTICLES

24 *Capital Scene*

Will David Souter protect gay marriages? queries **Ramresh Ponnuru**. . . . E-coli Democrats have cooked up a mouthful of criticism of Republicans, reports **Rich Lowry**. . . . **Kate O'Beirne** gives us the bad news: there may not be a budget train wreck.

30 *On the Scene*

Rich Lowry found the straw poll in Iowa a bit corny. . . . **Martin Arostegui** asks if King Hassan II will keep Morocco safe from Islamic fundamentalism. . . . **John R. Coyne Jr.** observes that Mayor Daley is filling his father's shoes—so far.

38 *Why Stop at Term Limits?*

Let's try classical democracy, argues **David Ramsay Steele**, and give chance a chance.

48 *Virtual Policy*

Robert A. Manning and **James J. Przystup** bemoan the Administration's policies toward the Far East.

51 *Killing with Kindness*

Stuart A. Creque proposes nitrogen asphyxiation as the perfect way to go.

52 *Searching for the White Underclass*

Carl F. Horowitz says the underclass problem is simple, but not black and white.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

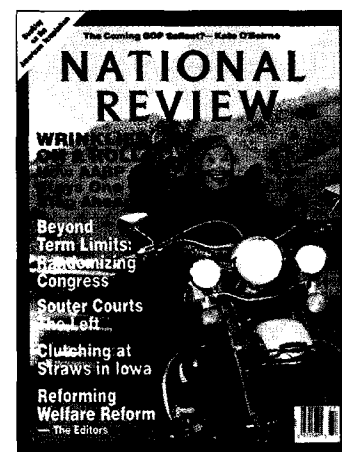
60 Who really rules America? Who ought to? And which "America" do you mean? **John O'Sullivan** dissects the mind of Michael Lind, the professional ex-conservative whose book, *The Next American Nation*, is both brilliant and daft. . . . As the nation goes nuts for the Net—not to mention the Web and Windows—**David Gelernter** pours cold water, and a copy of Clifford Stoll's *Silicon Snake Oil*, on our overheated heads. . . . After reading C. D. B. Bryan's *Close Encounters of the Fourth Kind: Alien Abduction, UFOs, and the Conference at MIT* and John E. Mack's *Abduction*, **Andrew Stuttaford** agrees with Carl Jung: "the Middle Ages . . . live on merrily." . . . **John Simon** declines a swim in *Waterworld* and wishes he could catch that scrumptious Sandra Bullock in *The Net*. . . . Forget evolution. **James Gardner** studies devolution at the new dinosaur exhibit at the American Museum of Natural History.

76 *The Gimlet Eye*

Andrew Ferguson will be grateful if baby-boomer rhetoric goes the way of Jerry Garcia.

SECTIONS

- 2 *Letters*
- 4 *From the Editor*
- 6 *For the Record*
- 8 *The Week*
- 37 *Gekko*
- 57 *Letter from Al*
- 58 *help*
- 70 *Books in Brief*
- 73 *Trans-O-Gram*
- 74 *On the Right*



Cover photo © 1991 Primoz



NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1995. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday-Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: \$57.00 a year (25 issues). Add \$21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LETTERS

Democracy and Freedom

Ken Masugi's review of *Democracy on Trial* [Aug. 14] reminded me of when I was in college during the Japanese evacuation in California, and was almost the only one I knew who opposed it. My reasoning was simple: The Japanese in Hawaii weren't being evacuated, and any argument for evacuating California applied in spades to Hawaii. I thought it simply an example of popular hysteria in California, and I see no reason to change my mind. "Democracy" sometimes means popular rule, the original meaning, and sometimes a set of individual freedoms. These freedoms sometimes exist in dictatorships, e.g., in Rome under Augustus's reign. They are sometimes absent in democracy, e.g., in the early days of the French First Republic. I prefer the first definition, but remember that democracies only rarely, as in the evacuation case, violate the second.

Gordon Tullock
University of Arizona
Tucson, Ariz.

Really, Miss King!

I yield to no one in my admiration for Florence King, but I must take issue with her remark in "The Misanthrope's Corner" [Aug. 28]: "How many people even know a copyright owner? (Hint: how many conservatives know someone with AIDS?)" Things may be different in Miss King's neck of the woods, but for those conservatives who live in New York City, the unhappy answer is: plenty. With any other writer I would have let this pass, but I didn't expect to find an ill-considered cliché on the usually perfect back page of NR.

Terry Teachout
New York, N.Y.

False Claims?

Robert Stowe England's "Hunting Bounty" [June 12] is flawed and recklessly inaccurate. His attacks on the federal False Claims Act erroneously suggest that it has generated unnecessary litigation and has served only to enrich lawyers who represent citizens that blow the whistle on fraud against the government. I am one of those attorneys and, indeed, the primary target of England's wrongheaded assault.

In 1986, President Reagan signed the amended False Claims Act into law with full bipartisan support. There is no better

example of privatization that works spectacularly well. The law provides marketplace incentives for ordinary citizens to come forward with information about companies that defraud the government, and encourages lawyers to risk their own assets to prosecute these wrongdoers. In 1985, the government recovered only \$27 million in civil fraud cases. Last year alone, the government recovered \$1 billion, largely because of lawsuits filed by citizen whistleblowers on the government's behalf. Just the cases that we have initiated on behalf of our clients have returned nearly \$500 million to the taxpayers. The vast majority of our clients take their information to the government first, well before they decide to bring a lawsuit. Only after they meet with inaction and nonresponse do they retain a lawyer and file a *qui tam* suit to end a fraud against an extremely passive federal bureaucracy. Mr. England's description of citizen suits as "unnecessary litigation" is absurd. Moreover, to suggest as England does that *qui tam* attorneys "get paid twice" by both the statutory and the usual contingency fees is ludicrous. The private bar assumes a huge financial risk in prosecuting fraud against the government. Over the last six years, private attorneys in our cases have collectively spent more than sixty attorney years pursuing government claims. Not all cases win. Even in successful cases, the lawyer's fees are paid years later without account for inflation or cost of money. Contingency arrangements are designed to protect against the downside risk of litigation that compensates only when successful.

Mr. England's article is rife with other factual inaccuracies. I will name just two. First, he falsely maintains that the 1986 amendments reward those who participated in the fraud and then filed a *qui tam* suit. In fact, the act absolutely bars persons convicted of the fraud from sharing in the government's recovery, and those who planned or initiated the fraud may also have their percentage share reduced to nothing. No such limitation existed before Congress amended the Act in 1986.

And, quite remarkably, England uses Max Killingsworth, a disgruntled former client, as a source for the utterly false suggestion that I have earned \$40 million from litigating False Claims Act cases. As I told Mr. England, after payment of all associated costs and taxes, I have approxi-

mately \$3 million—about two years' working capital—which is all being reinvested in new cases against other companies that swindled the taxpayers. England, however, chose to rely on an "estimate" by Mr. Killingsworth, whose knowledge of my practice is limited to one case against Teledyne Systems in which his only contribution was to introduce the true whistleblower to my law firm, for which he later unsuccessfully demanded that he receive all amounts due the whistleblower and his attorneys.

It is only because of his highly selective reporting and irresponsible journalism that England can level his astonishing charge that the False Claims Act has been subject to "fraudulent abuse."

John R. Phillips
Washington, D.C.

Among other mischaracterizations, Mr. Phillips wrongly asserts that I said the 1986 amendments had "served only" to enrich lawyers. I clearly point out that some *qui tam* lawsuits have assured that important cases would be pursued whether or not the Justice Department saw fit to prosecute them. I reviewed two cases that illustrate this point: Sequoia Orange Company's case against Sunkist Growers, and Max Killingsworth's case against Northrop. So, Phillips disingenuously created a cartoon version of my position and then demolished it.

Still, the 335 *qui tam* suits between 1986 and 1993 yielded an average recovery of only \$39,000. Such meager rewards do not justify the expense and time of those lawsuits. Phillips's comparison of total false-claims recoveries since 1986 (with or without *qui tam* whistleblowers) to recoveries before the 1986 amendments is disingenuous, since the amendments gave the Justice Department broad new incentives to pursue false-claims cases in the absence of *qui tam* plaintiffs, and recoveries without *qui tam* plaintiffs have also increased significantly.

Are *qui tam* attorneys being paid twice? Sometimes it's thrice and more. In the Chester Walsh v. General Electric case, a GE attorney calculated that the combined contingency fee and statutory fees awarded amount to pay of \$600 an hour for the attorneys involved, whose customary hourly fees ranged from \$150 to \$300. Phillips, who carefully cultivates an image as a public-spirited attorney, is upset that a former client estimates he has earned \$40 million. But Phillips did not tell me, as he claims, that he had \$3 million on hand. He simply stated that he had enough to support himself and his law firm for two years. This does not really answer the question of how much he has earned over the last nine years. —RSE



For an annual report on Phillips' health, environmental and safety performance, write to: HES R

FROM THE EDITOR

Truth and Consequences

■ Admirers of Paul Hollander's powerful article, "The Holocaust We Excused," in *NR* last year will be pleased to learn that he is a member of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation.

This body was established by Congress to memorialize the 100 million people around the world enslaved and murdered by Communist regimes. A grant of land in Washington, D.C., has been made, but otherwise the project is to be financed by private subscriptions.

The Foundation's plans are to combine a memorial, like the Vietnam War Memorial, with a museum on the model of the Holocaust Museum. It hopes to shine the light of truth upon the myth whose list of victims, after all, is still being added to in China, Cuba, and North Korea.

Many of those actively supporting the Memorial are well known to *NR* readers. Lee Edwards, whose careful estimate of the numbers murdered under Communism appeared with Mr. Hollander's article, is the Foundation's president; occasional contributors such as Richard Pipes, Robert Conquest, and George Weigel are on its advisory board; and its international council has Vladimir Bukovsky and Brian Crozier, long-standing friends of the magazine, in positions of honor alongside the presidents of former "captive nations."

NR too is honored by these links.

■ A friend writes: Call us skittish, but we generally prefer the misprint to the corrected version. A recent editor's note in the venerable *New Yorker* (which understandably insists that a "transcription service" was responsible for the error) apologizes to William Bennett for mangling a quotation from him: "In criticizing the political views of Patrick Buchanan, Mr. Bennett said, 'it's a real us-and-them kind of thing,' not, as we reported, 'It's a real S&M kind of thing.'"

Well, anyone can make a mistake, and some more than others. Britain's leading left-wing newspaper, *The Guardian*, specializes in misprints, hence nickname, the *Grauniad*.

I owe to Christopher Hitchens one wonderful example: the paper's distinguished opera critic, the late Philip Hope-Wallace, once telephoned in a review of Maria Callas in which he had described her admiringly as playing Tosca "with all the passion of a tigress deprived of her whelps."

Some tin-eared feminist sub-editor changed "tigress" to the more politically correct "tiger;" and a second, puzzled by the unfamiliar "whelps," changed it to "whelks," a shellfish sold in London pubs and so a word he had heard.

The following morning, Mr. Hope-Wallace opened his newspaper to discover that he had memorably described Maria Callas as singing "with all the passion of a tiger deprived of his whelks." He probably did not risk asking for a correction and apology. Who knows what might have appeared?

For the mangled apology is an art form in itself. Alas, the best example is fictional, entered in the literary competition of the left-wing and venerable British weekly, the *New Statesman*.

This regretted describing a distinguished soldier as a "bottle-scarred veteran," adding that the passage should have read a "battle-scarred veteran."

Ways to go yet, Tina.

■ Letters have continued to pour in, complaining about the non-appearance of the Trans-O-Gram. Scattered among the threats, fortunately, were several offers from keen cryptographers to stand in for Kem Putney during his absence. These came complete with impressive samples. My sincere thanks to those who composed them.

The Trans-O-Gram on page 73 is the work of a naval officer who goes under the pseudonym of Siegfried R. Reiner and who tells me that the remaining ambitions of his active life include "surfacing at the North Pole in a nuclear submarine and receiving a private interview with Margaret Thatcher."

I hope that provides additional clues to those puzzling over his handiwork.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

September 11 issue; printed August 30

Editor

John O'Sullivan

Senior Editors

Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman

Managing Editor: Linda Bridges

Washington Editor: Kate O'Beirne

Articles Editor: Andrew Oliver

Executive Editor: Matthew Carolan

Literary Editor: David Klinghoffer

National Political Reporter: Rich Lowry

National Reporter Ramesh Ponnuru

Economics Analyst: Ed Rubenstein

Roving Correspondent: Radek Sikorski

Art Director: Luba Kolomytseva

Associate Editor: Karina Rollins

Executive Secretary: Frances Bronson

Assistant to the Editor-at-Large: Tony Savage

Assistant to the Editor: Jeanne Shanahan

Editorial Associates

Patricia B. Bozell / Tracy Lee Simmons
Jane Buckley Smith / Christopher R. Weinkopf

Editorial Services

Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher

Michael A. Watkins

Research Director: Dorothy McCartney

Librarian: John J. Virtes

Research Assistants

Russell Jenkins / James Voris

Contributing Editors

Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes

Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier

W. H. von Dreele / Andrew Ferguson

Neal B. Freeman / John Gray / Florence King

Lawrence Kudlow / Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Anthony Lejeune / Stephen Markman

Stephen Moore / Richard John Neuhaus

Paul Craig Roberts / Peter Samuel / John Simon

Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag

Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

President

Thomas L. Rhodes

Editor-at-Large

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Contributors

Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.

Baloo / David Brudnoy / Richard C. Carpenter

Donald Coxé / John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza

M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.

Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder

Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler

James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas

D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall

Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar

Joe Mysak / Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak

Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds

Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate

Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopoulos

S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante

Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.

Associate Publisher: Jack Fowler

Assistant to the Publisher: Kevin Longstreet

Assistant to the President: Barbara Nowack

Chief Financial Officer: James X. Kilbridge

Accounting Manager: Galina Veygman

Treasurer: Rose Flynn DeMaio

Fund Director: Arthur F. Stetzner

Business Services

Alex Batey / Lisa Champagne / Julie Crane

Vickie Manca / Kristie Hong Woo

Circulation 212-679-7330

Circulation Director: Theresa Maloney

Circulation Manager: Jason Ng

Main Number 212-679-7330

Subscription Inquiries 815-734-1232

Advertising Sales 212-679-3923

Director: Donald W. Burkett

Direct Response Advertising

Director: Scott Budd

Todd Westover

Jennifer L. Bancks

Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 810-626-9918

San Francisco Rep. Patrick F. Doyle 415-777-4383

Los Angeles Rep. James B. McGinley 310-996-1443

Publisher

Edward A. Capano

Children need a healthy and nurturing environment in which they can grow and develop. That's why The Prudential Foundation has awarded a grant to

"The Healing Of A Nation Begins In The Homes Of Its People."

The American Association for Marriage & Family Therapy. This grant enables its members to provide services to families in need through local Head Start programs.

The AAMFT partners with Head Start to help strengthen family life. Volunteer therapists support Head Start in its job of ensuring healthy child development by building parenting skills and improving marital and family relationships. The partnership contributes to this goal by training the next generation of therapists to work with underserved populations at Head Start sites.

Providing services that benefit a child's homelife is just one of the many ways Prudential's philosophy of corporate social responsibility is working to turn vision into reality.

— African Proverb



TURNING VISION INTO REALITY.



©1995 The Prudential Insurance Company of America.

FOR THE RECORD

■ Big winners from **Ross Perot** confab are an ideological grab-bag: **Pat Buchanan**, **Jesse Jackson**, **John Kasich**. Former Perot pollster **Frank Luntz**, however, points out that audience at United We Stand America convention was not representative of Perot's '92 supporters. (Would most Americans *pay* to hear more than three dozen politicians speak?) . . . GOP presidential candidates addressed group despite **Bill Bennett's** warnings not to kowtow to Perot. Not kowtowing was front-runner **Bob Dole**, whose speech defended politicians and criticized isolationism. According to *Washington Times*, Buchanan "electrified" crowd with America First and protectionist messages; but **Alan Keyes** slammed Buchanan for downplaying anti-abortion stand, less popular among UWSA members. **Phil Gramm** reiterated pledges to balance budget in first term and to abolish federal quotas by executive order in first day on job. (Dole recently told columnist **Lally Weymouth** he would not issue such executive orders.) **Lamar Alexander** predicted that independent candidacy would re-elect **Bill Clinton** if party nominates Beltway insider . . . Also sounding anti-Beltway note was **Pete Wilson**. Though moderate/liberal on social issues, Wilson called rising illegitimacy "the greatest threat I can think of to America's future." . . . Survey for *U.S. News* finds that whites like **Colin Powell** more than blacks do, "largely because a surprising number of blacks don't know much about him." Of blacks who can identify Powell, 19 per cent don't know his race.

■ Announcement by N.J. Sen. **Bill Bradley** that he won't run for re-election next year reduces Democrats' already-slim chances of retaking Senate. Dems currently hold 6 of 7 Senate seats that will be open in 1996—and they lost all 6 of their open seats in '94. **Claiborne Pell** (D., R.I.) is probably next out the door. Will **Sam Nunn**, in Republican-friendly Georgia, be far behind? Dems may be lucky to hold onto

the power to filibuster. . . . Race to replace Bradley is already crowded: among Republicans, Rep. **Dick Zimmer** is widely expected to win nomination but **Richard DuHaime** is challenging him from the Right; ex-Gov. **Tom Kean** and Rep. **Marge Roukema** could jump in. Main contenders on Democrat side are likely to be Reps. **Robert Torricelli** and **Robert Andrews**, but ex-Gov. **Jim Florio** is interested. . . . **Newt Gingrich** and **John Lewis** (D., Ga.)—the same Lewis who recently disrupted a Gingrich symposium on Medicare—joined forces to submit a redistricting proposal to protect Georgia's 11 congressional incumbents.

■ **Norma McCorvey**, better known as Jane Roe of *Roe v. Wade*, departed the pro-choice movement. Feminists, she complains, never treated her—a reform-school dropout, former drug dealer and alcoholic—with respect. Reaction from **Sarah Weddington**, her lawyer in *Roe*: "It doesn't really matter. The case was a class-action suit." *New York Times* piles on: McCorvey "never was much of a poster girl for choice," declares editorial page. . . . Pro-lifers make progress in state legislatures across the country. **Clarke Forsythe** of Americans United for Life reports in *Wall Street Journal* that so

far this year four states have passed laws requiring parental consent or at least notification before a minor daughter's abortion, leaving only 12 states without such laws. Three states passed informed-consent laws—and Missouri would have joined them but for Dem. Gov. **Mel Carnahan's** veto. And the Ohio legislature sent a ban on "partial-birth" abortions to GOP Gov. **George Voinovich** for his signature.

■ Defection of Lt.-Gen. **Hussein Kamel Hassan**, head of Iraq's military industrialization—including nuclear and poison-gas projects—means regime of **Saddam Hussein** is collapsing. Iraq itself might splinter, with neighboring states wrangling for pieces in Yugoslav-type ethnic free-for-all. . . . Colombia Prosecutor-General **Alfonso Valdivieso** expects other drug traffickers to replace captured Cali cartel leaders **Miguel Rodriguez Orejuelo** and his brother. Defense Minister **Fernando Botero** resigned after accusations he took drug money while running Pres. **Ernesto Samper's** campaign. . . . Meanwhile, U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency chief **Thomas Constantine** says amphetamines from Mexico are rapidly overtaking Colombian cocaine as drug of choice in U.S. . . . Mexican police have grabbed **Aaron Morel Lebaron**, leader of Texas polygamist sect who is accused of ordering the murder of three members. . . . Senators **John McCain** and **Joseph Lieberman** are co-sponsoring proposal to establish international fund to arm Bosnian government. **Jesse Helms**, chairman of Foreign Relations Committee, says, "It's time we treated the Bosnian people the same way we treated the Contras in Nicaragua and those people in Afghanistan—as freedom fighters." . . . Russian ultranationalist **Vladimir Zhirinovsky** has ordered all his party's candidates in December parliamentary elections to be examined for drug addiction, mental illness, and criminal backgrounds. . . . **Vitaly Usov**, general manager of new Moscow restaurant offering traditional Russian fast-food, has taught waitresses to smile like McDonald's employees.

■ **Bob Dole** voted in Iowa's straw poll, but the **Gramms** did not. Quips **Charlie Black**, Gramm campaign chairman, on the candidates' photo finish: "If Wendy hadn't choked on us, we'd have won the thing."

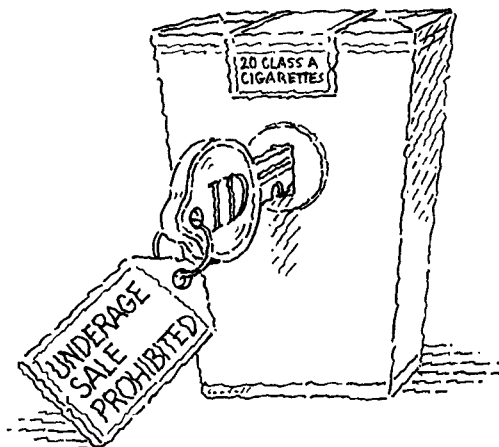


"Nobody resigned today.
Details at six."

Matt-Rothco Syndicate

Our position, word by word.

No Sale



No one should sell cigarettes to minors. Minors should not have access to cigarettes. They should not smoke. Period.

That's why Philip Morris launched *Action Against Access*, one of the most comprehensive programs ever introduced to combat the issue of youth access to cigarettes.

ACTION against ACCESS

Action Against Access is a voluntary program that is taking some very specific steps.

Here are some highlights: We have stopped the distribution of free sample cigarettes to consumers. We no longer distribute cigarettes through the mail. And we are placing the following notice on all our cigarette brand packs and cartons: "Underage sale prohibited."

In addition, Philip Morris is helping retailers comply with minimum-age laws by providing free signage and funding educational programs.

And, as part of *Action Against Access*, Philip Morris is taking a leadership role in seeking widespread industry and public support for the passage of state legislation designed to prevent minors from having access to cigarettes in vending machines. Additionally, Philip Morris seeks to establish reasonable licensing requirements for cigarette retail sales.

The principle behind *Action Against Access* is simple: The best way to keep kids away from cigarettes is to keep cigarettes away from kids.



PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

**We want you to know
where we stand.**

THE WEEK

■ Republicans are pondering a budget showdown that would be, in the words of one of their analysts, "the fiscal equivalent of dropping an atomic bomb on the government." Aw, go ahead. It's the right thing to do. Don't even wait for a budget crisis. Do it!

■ If you shut down the government, every family in the country would get a pay raise of, oh, \$300 a week. Of course we'd have to give up bureaucrats and Form 1040, but most families could easily afford that. Do it!

■ If you have doubts, think of the number of American casualties it would cost to invade. Do it!

■ You might think that Newt Gingrich is calling for tax cuts because of a commitment to limited government and economic growth. If so, you obviously have not read Gail Sheehy's profile of Gingrich in the September *Vanity Fair*. Miss Sheehy's readers know that tax cuts, Medicare reform, and deregulation are not policies at all, but mental anomalies to be explained by Gingrich's longing to be loved by two cold, authoritarian fathers. The Speaker is, in short, a victim. But he is not to be indulged like most victims, because he is dangerous. Miss Sheehy's article is unlikely, however, to be remembered for its contribution to public understanding of manic depression. Much more titillating are her allegations of infidelities during Gingrich's first marriage, which ended in 1981. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is none of Miss Sheehy's—or the reading public's—business. Most people are not saints, and their reputations would suffer from harsh scrutiny. It might be a different matter if Mr. Gingrich had presented himself as a sterling moral leader. But he has not done so. The only silver lining to the story is that it may help dissuade Mr. Gingrich from entering the presidential race this time—which, as we have argued, would be against his own interests anyway.

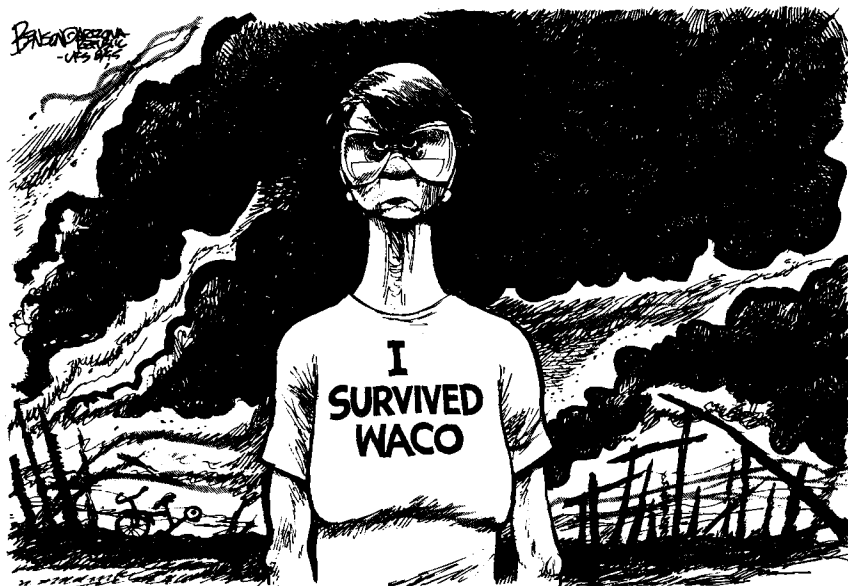
■ If President Clinton really wants to stop teenagers from smoking, he should propose a law requiring that they must be able to read the writing on a cigarette package before it can be sold to them.

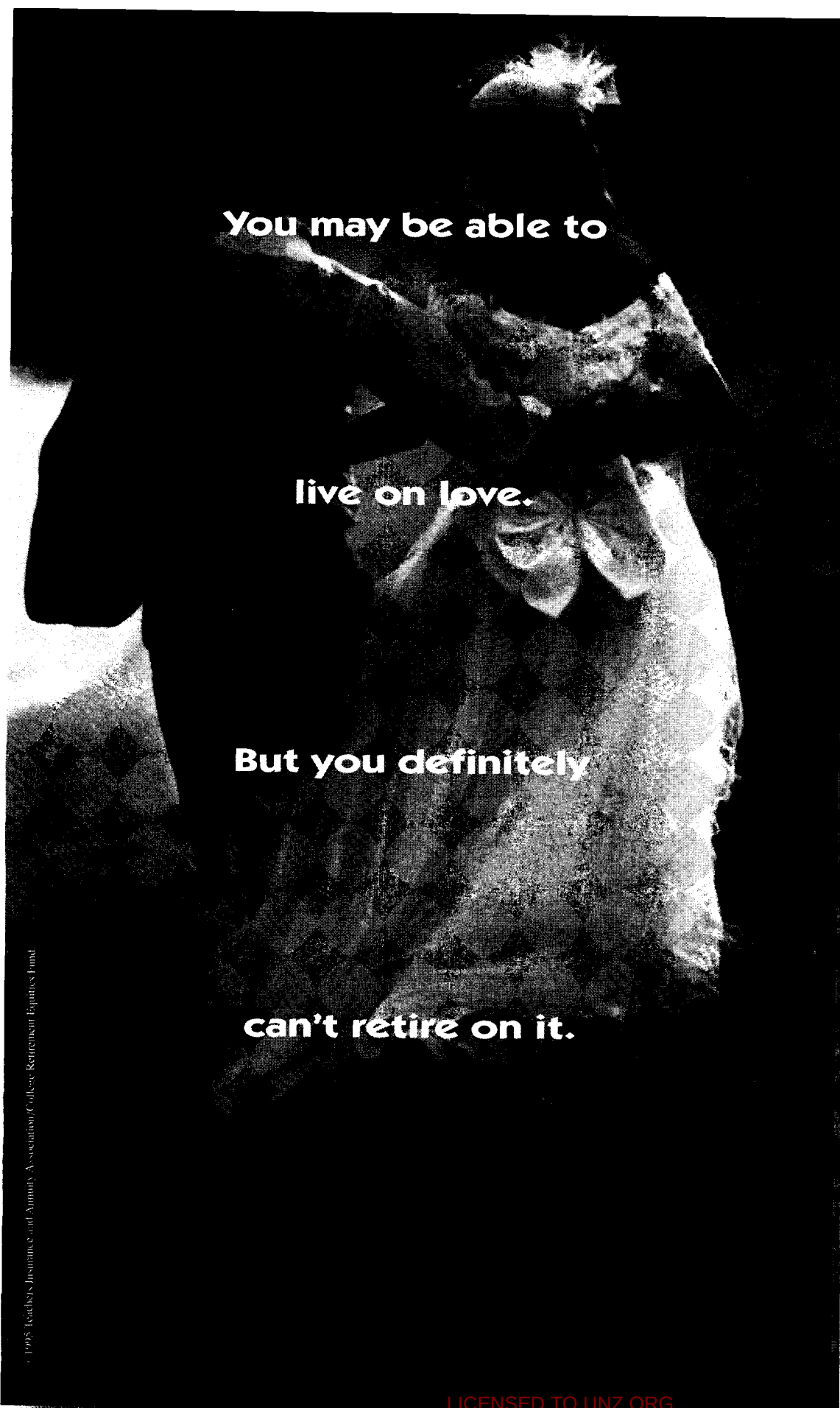
■ Defense hawks are questioning Senate Republicans' commitment to strategic defense. The House's defense authorization bill, and initially the

Senate's, required that a multiple-site ballistic-missile defense system be *deployed* by 2003. But now Senators Cohen, Warner, Nunn, and Levin have reached a bipartisan agreement (if Cohen and Warner count as Republicans) which speaks instead of "developing for deployment"—in other words, still more years on the drawing board. Armed Services Committee Chairman Strom Thurmond has signed off on the deal, which will be approved by the Senate. If missile-defense supporters in the House hold firm in conference, however, they can probably win enough votes in the Senate for final passage of their version of the bill. It's high time for Republicans to come to the defense of missile defense.

■ Hurricane Felix drifted in, drifted out, drifted around, killed a few people, and otherwise acted remarkably like United States foreign policy.

■ If Bill Bradley had retired in September, or July, or anytime except a very slow August, the nation might have been spared the hype surrounding the New Jersey senator's hint at an independent presidential bid. Two days on the front page of the *Washington Post*. Four pages, including an interview, in *Newsweek*. Bradley says both parties are failing America. But in what ways does this self-styled maverick—a roughly 90 per cent Americans for Democratic Action liberal who voted against unfunded-mandate reform, regulatory reform, and the Balanced Budget Amendment—differ from his President? "The issue isn't where I agree or disagree with the President," he told *Newsweek*. "It's too easy to say, Well, I agree on these five, I disagree on those four. What does that tell anybody?" More than anything else we're likely to hear from Bill Bradley. The senator's glowing coverage suggests that this pillar of the establishment can, through the sheer force of his seriousness and decency, save American democracy. From what exactly? He's not saying.





You may be able to

live on love.

But you definitely

can't retire on it.

TIAA-CREF.

Proven

Solutions

To Last

a Lifetime.

A great relationship may do a lot for you emotionally. But it's not going to help the two of you much financially. For a comfortable, worry-free future, you need sound advice and solid thinking. That's why over 1.7 million people depend on TIAA-CREF. We offer investment, insurance, and personal savings plans that can help you reach your financial goals. To find out more, call 1 800 226-0147 for a free Personal Investing Kit, including a current CREF Prospectus. It's your first step towards developing a lasting relationship—with your money. TIAA-CREF. Financial services exclusively for people in education and research.

For more complete information, including fees and expenses, please read the CREF Prospectus offered above. Read it carefully before investing.



**Ensuring the future
for those who shape it.™**

■ And if Bill Bradley *is* thinking of running for President as an independent, he joins others considering such a run, including Jesse Jackson, Colin Powell, Lowell Weicker, and Ross Perot. The only independent to announce so far is Bill Clinton.

■ On August 17, Whitewater Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr indicted Clinton crony and business partner James McDougal on 19 counts of fraud and related crimes. Starr also indicted McDougal's former wife, Susan, and Arkansas Governor Jim Guy Tucker. This can't be good news for the Clintons. The McDougals and Clintons were 50-50 partners in the Whitewater Development Corporation. Whitewater contributed to the failure of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan—which cost taxpayers \$60 million. Resolution Trust Corporation investigator Jean Lewis told the House Banking Committee that Whitewater—hence, the Clintons—benefited from Mr. McDougal's fraudulent activities. Miss Lewis also testified that she was "obstructed, hampered, and manipulated" during the course of her investigation and placed on administrative leave along with the two supervisors who had backed her. There are several problems here. First, the Clintons' taxes. They deducted two interest payments (one of \$2,811, the other of \$2,322) on loans that were paid *not* by them, but by Whitewater. Also, from 1982 to 1986, McDougal was making their Whitewater mortgage payments. The Clintons claim they did not know of McDougal's generosity, and they never bothered to ask who was making the payments. In other words, don't ask, don't tell.

■ Led by Reps. Barney Frank, Charles Schumer, and Maxine Waters, the Democrats at the House Whitewater hearings exercised the full extent of their mental faculties and moral superiority by emitting grunts, bleats, cackles, groans, chirps, and snorts whenever they didn't want to hear the evidence, which was usually. Chairman Jim Leach finally had to rule "guttural

noises" out of order. Why didn't anyone think of *that* these last sixty years?

■ As the number of Whitewater-related indictments rose to 14, Bill Clinton has denied ever being governor of Arkansas.

■ It didn't take Shannon Faulkner long to realize that there had to be an easier way to lose twenty pounds. On August 9, the U.S. 4th District Court of Appeals had ordered The Citadel to admit Miss Faulkner, despite her being above the weight limit, and despite her refusal to submit to a physical evaluation. By mid afternoon of the first day of the plebes' Hell Week, Miss Faulkner was in the infirmary, from which she did not emerge until her hastily called press conference at week's end. "I don't think there's any dishonor in leaving," she stated. "I think there's dis-justice in my staying and killing myself just for the political point." Her unscripted admission on why she had waged her prolonged assault on the all-male military college was unsurprising. Miss Faulkner's simple plea for equal treatment was belied by the fact that she wanted to attend the demanding, 152-year-old institution on her own terms and clearly relished her role as feminist icon—until reveille sounded, and Gloria Allred was nowhere to be found.

■ A dozen top Iraqis defected from Baghdad to Jordan, and "Jane Roe" defected from her pro-abortion stance to join Operation Rescue. David Gergen is demanding royalties.

■ In an interview in the *Wall Street Journal* Bui Tin, the North Vietnamese general who received South Vietnam's unconditional surrender in 1975, confirmed what the Right has known all along: the antiwar protestors undermined the American war effort and, yes, through visits of prominent Americans to Hanoi, gave aid and comfort to the enemy. Says General Bui: "[The antiwar protestors] represented the conscience of America. [That conscience] was part of its war-making capability, and we were turning that power in our favor." Thomas Sowell argues in *Forbes* that Thirties pacifists in England, France, and the U.S. helped cause an unnecessary World War II by keeping their governments from building up deterrent arms, thus giving Germany and her allies a crucial head start. In the case of Vietnam the protestors didn't cause the war, but they weakened our will to continue, resulting in our broken promise to the people of South Vietnam and—lest we forget—to the 57,000 Americans who died there. The Sixties pacifists can atone for their past offenses by admitting what their professions of peace-and-love led to.

■ Alternative energy is having some problems, according to the newsletter *Access to Energy*. Twenty per



The Citadel's Ex-Cow

*It never mooed nor did it wear
A cow bell when it took the air,
But on parade or in the yard
Performing with the daytime guard,
One didn't need a farmer's eye
To tell it from a proper guy,
Distinctions Justice Rehnquist felt
Hit udderly below the belt.*

—W. H. VON DREELE

Inspiring Future Scientists



Lydia Cheng watches as Dr. Laurie Gage takes a sample of stomach contents from a dolphin at Marine World Africa USA in Vallejo, California.

Real Science! Draws Teens to Careers

Imagine your kids switching channels to watch a teen reporter petting a pregnant dolphin, hunting dinosaur tracks in Utah or blasting off for Mars via virtual reality.

It could happen, thanks to a new public television program, *Real Science!* Created by KTEH-TV in San Jose, with support from Hitachi, this fast-paced series features teen reporters visiting with scientists to find out what they do, why they enjoy it, and what teenagers can do to prepare themselves for similar careers.

Real Science! was developed to

change American teens' attitudes towards the sciences. Statistics reveal a striking drop in interest in science by the time students reach the seventh grade. Equally alarming, American teens rank behind teens in other countries in scientific proficiency.

Hitachi is helping to reverse this trend by donating use of its TV facilities and committing \$90,000 to produce and distribute *Real Science!* Four episodes are currently airing on public television and in schools, and 13 more are planned for the fall.

The show's producer, Maura Daly Phinney of San Jose public television station, KTEH, says *Real Science!* has one overriding

goal: "We want the program to encourage students to pursue careers in science."

Hosted by California's 1994 Young Woman of the Year, Lydia Cheng, the series appeals to young people ages 8 to 18. Each 30-minute episode includes segments on three different science careers. Viewers accompany teenagers as they visit scientists, who demonstrate and explain their day-to-day work.

Supporting *Real Science!* is just one way Hitachi fulfills its social commitments. "We want to enrich the lives of young people by giving them fuel for their dreams," said Fred Hansen, executive vice president of Hitachi Data Systems. "Society's future rides on the hopes of today's

youth, and we owe them an opportunity to create rewarding careers and fulfilling lives."



Maura Daly Phinney, producer of the *Real Science!* series.

Hitachi's outreach efforts include direct funding of projects like *Real Science!*, as well as donations and employee volunteerism for a host of national, regional and community-based projects. These activities benefit education, the arts, the environment, health care and social services.

HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this issue we inaugurate a new Washington section, Capital Scene, featuring a new column, "Bread and Circuses," by our Washington editor, Kate O'Beirne. See pages 24-28.

cent of the mirrors at the solar-power field in Barstow, California, are broken, and the rest are working at reduced efficiency because smoke from the Mount Pinatubo eruption four years ago is still reducing the intensity of sunlight. Southern California Edison isn't too unhappy about the low productivity because it is required by federal law to pay the solar electric generators 15¢/kWh compared to its own generation costs of 3¢/kWh. (Then again, in the absence of competition it can pass the higher power bills on to its customers.) Meanwhile, at another politically correct project which generates electricity by means of windmills, the blades have chopped up thousands of birds in the past two years, including 78 golden eagles. And at El Centro, California, a power plant that burns biomass is out of commission: the manure it was being fed as fuel wouldn't burn after recent wet weather, and the plant is plugged up with the stuff. No report on whether it is being tested for conformity to air-quality standards.

■ A controversy broke out in the advertising world over some vaguely soft pornographic ads taken out by Calvin Klein in *YM*, a magazine for girls ages 12 and up. The ads show under-age models in various states of undress. As reported in the *Wall Street Journal*, the dispute focuses on whether the ads will or will not offend the young girls who read *YM*. "Something that is offensive to adults may not be to kids," reasoned Ira Garey, publisher of *Sassy*. "It [the ad campaign] just isn't subtle enough and therefore isn't cool," countered Jane Grossman, publisher of *Seventeen*. Nobody seems to have thought about the moral effect the ads might have. That just wouldn't be subtle enough and therefore wouldn't be cool.

■ President Clinton is warning Iraq that any military moves against Kuwait or Saudi Arabia will be met with the full mobilization of Mark Fuhrman.

Bob Dole's Illegitimate Bill

CHILDREN born out of wedlock are far more likely than luckier children to live in poverty, to have emotional and behavioral problems, to abuse drugs, and to become criminals. The high illegitimacy rates in many American communities make it impossible for them to function in any meaningful way. As a result, these neighborhoods have become a gamble to traverse and a nightmare to inhabit. The Federal Government's welfare policies have con-

tributed to this national tragedy. Welfare makes it possible for a young mother to get by without a working husband; indeed, to marry would end her benefits. Many women have therefore chosen to marry the government.

Yet the main Senate Republican welfare bill—that of Bob Dole and Bob Packwood—ignores this grotesque situation, except for a boiler-plate acknowledgment of illegitimacy's social harmfulness which conservatives spent a month fighting to insert into the bill. Senator Dole's position on illegitimacy and marriage is thus indistinguishable from that of President Clinton. Senators Phil Gramm, Lauch Faircloth, and John Ashcroft tried to rally Republicans behind a stronger proposal and are still seeking to amend the bill. They want to bar states from using federal funds to give mothers on welfare additional benefits for having more children—a prohibition in the House welfare bill. They hope to force state politicians to face up to illegitimacy by requiring states to set numerical goals for reducing the ratio of illegitimate births to total births; they would not penalize states that failed to meet such goals, but they would reward states that cut their ratio *without an increase in abortion*. Above all, they want to end federal cash assistance to single mothers under the age of 18.

Senator Dole and his chief of staff, Sheila Burke, argue that provisions discouraging illegitimacy will increase the abortion rate. They echo the view of a discordant chorus, including the National Right to Life Committee and feminists, like Bob Packwood, for whom subsidized illegitimacy is part of "reproductive freedom." As it happens, there is little empirical support for their view that welfare cuts increase abortion. And in any case, Dole and the NRLC are accepting a pernicious moral principle. If cutting welfare benefits is objectionable because abortions would increase, then doubling them is desirable because abortions would decrease. Indeed, on that logic, child support should no longer be collected, since it encourages young men to pressure pregnant girlfriends to have abortions. The underlying premise of this supposedly pro-life argument for welfare—that virtue cannot survive in a free society—is one that social conservatives rightly reject. Pro-lifers would do better to consider what welfare has done to create a society in which many decent people view widespread abortion as a sensible solution to social problems.

The second stated objection to the Gramm approach, voiced most prominently by Michigan Gov. John Engler, is that state welfare reformers should be given greater discretion so that fifty flowers of innovation may bloom. In an ideal world, the Federal Government would leave welfare—and its financing—entirely to the states for constitutional, political, and economic reasons. But freedom without responsibility—i.e., collecting the money at the federal level and shipping it to the states with no strings at-

Available
EXCLUSIVELY from
Connoisseur Imports.

NOT
in stores

Prolong the Life of Opened Bottles of Wine

with one-of-a-kind 1/2 bottle size decanter



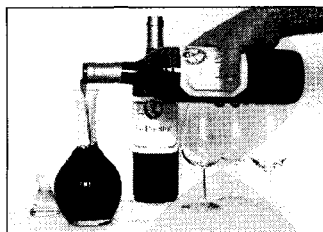
Enjoy Every Bottle of Wine ... Down to the Last Drop.

Now, you don't have to finish every bottle of wine you uncork. Not in one sitting, anyway! This unique 1/2-bottle decanter, available exclusively from Connoisseur Imports, protects wine's delicate flavor ... so you can enjoy it

for many, many days. This limited edition series of mini decanters are precision made and feature a solid ground-to-fit stopper that ensures airtight closure to keep wine tasting newly opened.

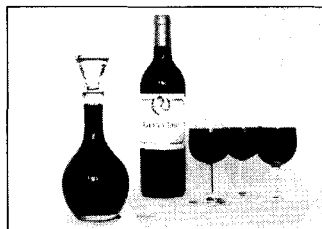
Discover the Secret of Preserving Fine Wines, The Easy Way.

Toss out those complicated nitrogen systems or often ineffective vacuum bottle stoppers and other gadgets. They either leak, allow bacteria to taint the wine or otherwise deliver mediocre results. It's time to return to the age-old traditional and effective method for preserving fine wine in style and elegance.



And it's so easy! Simply open your favorite wine bottle and immediately fill the decanter to the highest level, so the stopper bottom touches the wine. Then savor the wine from your opened bottle. The meticulously crafted stopper is already at work preventing oxygen from coming into contact with the wine in your mini-decanter. Your wine stays so fresh, the second half is just as enjoyable as the first after many, many days.

Professional wine tasters and masters of wine cherish and rely on their collection of mini decanters. Several half bottle size decanters are always on hand, filled with a variety of vintage wines. That way, wine connoisseurs can sample an assortment ... without risking a loss of flavor. Once you have one mini-decanter, you will definitely understand the wisdom of this, and wish you owned two or three!



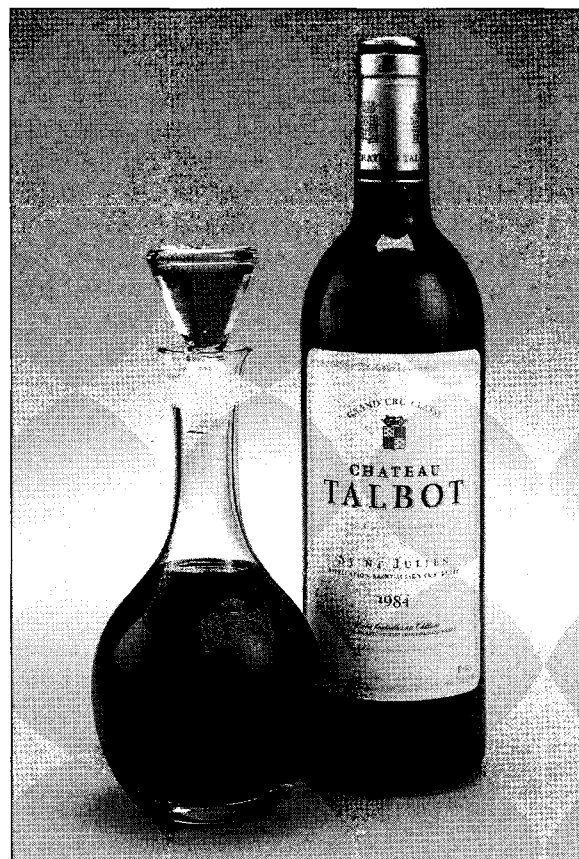
1/2 Bottle Size Decanters are a Rarity.

Most decanters are made for decanting the entire bottle of wine (750ml) and are NOT designed to preserve the quality of fine wines. DO NOT confuse ordinary decanters with this one-of-a-kind 1/2 bottle decanter.

Connoisseur Imports, your direct import source, has authorized only a limited number of these European-made 1/2 bottle size decanters. We guarantee your complete satisfaction. Don't forget ... you will not find this extraordinary decanter anywhere. Except, perhaps at an occasional auction or antique shoppe.

Useful, Practical, Decorative ... and Unbeatable Value!

These stylish mini decanters feature an attractive coat of arms of Bordeaux etched in the glass, and add a classy touch to your dinner table. 1/2 bottle size decanters make a great gift — **at only \$29** you'll want to take advantage of this Special-Direct-Import price and order several. Remember, only a limited number of these exclusive mini-decanters were commissioned. Reserve yours today, before supplies are exhausted. **DON'T WAIT.**



Call Toll Free 1-800-222-6889

Phone or fax orders normally shipped next business day.

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Connoisseur Imports
875 Hanna Drive, Box 790
Napa, CA 94559

**SATISFACTION
GUARANTEED**

**Call Toll Free 1-800-222-6889
or Fax 707-553-8139**

Please send me _____ 1/2 Bottle size Decanter(s).

For each decanter charge \$29* plus \$5 shipping/handling to my credit card: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Credit Card Number _____ Expiration Date _____

Name _____ Please print clearly

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____
(Orders subject to acceptance)

☐ I prefer not to pay by credit card and will pay by check.
Enclosed is my check for \$29 + \$5 shipping/handling, a total of \$34* for each 1/2 bottle decanter.

*CA residents add 7 1/4% sales tax. Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.

tached—is not an improvement over the status quo. In these circumstances, there is no principled federalist reason to reject regulations on how federal money should be spent. Conservatives should evaluate them case by case. Where we favor converting welfare into block grants to the states, we do so on the prudential grounds that it is more likely than policy reforms at the federal level to serve conservative goals.

IN ANY case, the federalism issue is bogus. The Dole-Packwood bill, Engler's preferred option, preserves thousands of restrictions on state autonomy and creates some new ones. That's why the bill's job-training block grant runs 261 pages, compared to 23 pages for that section of Gramm's bill. Other features of the Dole bill are craftily designed to impede state autonomy. Many governors, for instance, want to redirect money from ineffective job-training programs to ineffective child-care programs. However, in order to protect Sen. Nancy Kassebaum's fiefdom, the Labor and Human Resources Committee, Dole-Packwood lets states transfer money only in the other direction, which nobody wants to do. By contrast, Gramm converts more welfare programs to block grants (e.g., food stamps, which Dole leaves alone) and lets states shift money among the piles. Even on illegitimacy, Gramm's bill would allow states great flexibility: nothing in it would keep state governments from spending their *own* taxpayers' money on cash assistance for unwed teen mothers, or on extra payments for additional children. Governors are passionately fighting Gramm anyway, apparently because they don't want to have to defend subsidizing illegitimacy. All the more reason, then, to support Gramm's position.

In addition to its deficiencies on illegitimacy, the Dole bill is weak on work requirements. Requiring work, in addition to being popular with voters, would discourage people from going on welfare and cut costs. Dole-Packwood subverts these goals by letting states count participation in vocational-education programs as work. Gramm's work requirement, on the other hand, specifies that work has to be work. For his pains, Engler and others have condemned him for wanting to micromanage welfare from Washington. We would be more sympathetic to this criticism if Gov. Engler were willing to attack any restrictions on state autonomy other than work requirements and anti-illegitimacy measures. Instead, that effort has been left to senators like Gramm, Faircloth, and Ashcroft. Meanwhile, Dole, Packwood, and Engler have adopted a *faux* federalism—one that embraces liberal chains while resisting conservative threads.

If Dole-Packwood prevails, its main effect will be to encourage states to continue pursuing the chimera of liberal welfare reform, attempting to make single-parent households viable by providing social services like child care and tinkering with incentives. Republicans are driven to these expedients because they are unable

to counter liberal hysteria about "drastic" and "punitive" welfare changes. So Dole-Packwood allows spending on non-medical means-tested programs to rise at roughly 3.5 per cent per year; even the House Republicans' much "harsher" bill preserves 65 of 75 major means-tested programs. Few Republicans are willing to suggest what is probably the best reform: simply cutting benefit levels, especially in high-benefit states. Perpetuating the current welfare system is not compassion. And that system's existence stifles the development of private-sector alternatives like charity and mutual-aid societies.

Given the current political realities, however, backers of Gramm-style welfare reform would be wise to point out that a ban on federal cash assistance to young single mothers does not preclude other types of assistance: states could use federal money, for instance, to establish group homes for the mothers and their children. This option would keep the vulnerable from coming to harm while denying financial and social independence to irresponsible teenagers.

The last bi-partisan "reform," in 1988, made the welfare system worse while deluding Americans into thinking that no further reforms were necessary. If liberal reforms pass in conservative guise this year, their inevitable failure will discredit conservative ideas on welfare for years to come. Unless Republican proposals are improved substantially in coming weeks, it will be time to abandon welfare reform this time around. Do it right, or not at all.

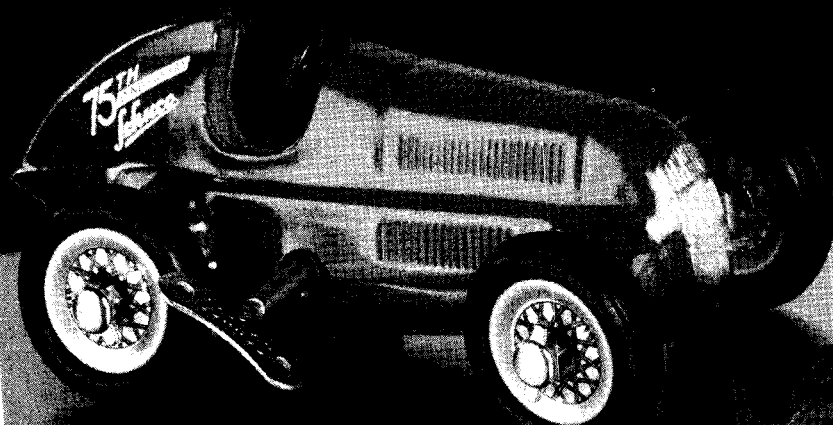
Tears amid the Iowa Corn

WHAT does it mean for American politics when Pat Buchanan, in the course of about a week, 1) walks away with the affection of Ross Perot supporters presumably representing the disaffected middle of American politics; and 2) finishes a strong third, without the resources of his big-name rivals, in an Iowa straw poll representing the new Republican Right? It means trouble for anyone eager to coast along on the old political rules—bland appeals to the center, "responsible" governing as defined by the *Washington Post*—and reluctant, as they put it back in 1992, to "get it." A brisk populist wind blows across American politics. Where it will take the GOP is unclear, but any politician unwilling to tack to these new breezes risks irrelevance, whatever the state of his war-chest or organization.

Some conservatives—Bill Bennett the foremost—have suggested that Republicans would have been better off staying away from Dallas. Why lend credibility to Perot, a public nuisance? But the point of Dallas was less Perot than his supporters. Any group that goes ga-ga watching House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich jump out of his shoes to explain the

THE FINEST WIND UP TOY CARS EVER MADE!

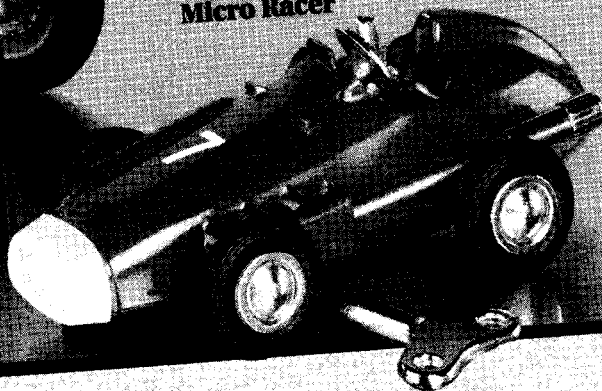
75TH
ANNIVERSARY
Schuco



A
Willabee & Ward
exclusive!

**1936 Grand Prix
Mercedes Studio Car**

**1951 Mercedes
Micro Racer**



Cars shown smaller than actual size.

The exclusive Schuco 75th Anniversary limited-edition collector set.

Since 1921, the craftsmen at Schuco in Nuremberg, Germany have produced the world's finest metal wind-up toys. Meticulously engineered and powered by precision clockwork motors, these miniature marvels have delighted millions of boys the world over. The two most popular models of all time were the 1936 Grand Prix Mercedes Studio Car – featuring a real working differential! – and the 1951 Mercedes Micro-Racer – capable of speeds of up to 35mph! Now, these two classics will be produced in a limited-edition collector's set to commemorate Schuco's 75th anniversary.

Metal cars from original tooling!

Using the original Schuco tooling, skilled European artisans will carefully craft every Schuco 75th Anniversary Deluxe Collector's Set, right down to the last detail. From the 1951 Mercedes Micro-Racer's famed "free-wheeling" wind-up mechanism to the 1936 Grand Prix Mercedes Studio Car's real working differential. What's more, these cars

will be housed in a specially-designed presentation case, accompanied by a serially-numbered Certificate of Authenticity.

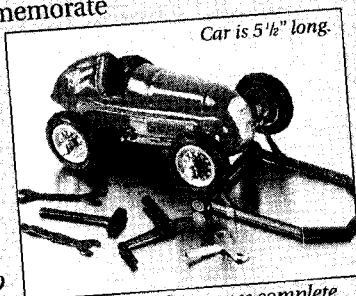
Strictly limited edition.

Production of *The Schuco 75th Anniversary Deluxe Collector's Set* will be strictly limited and will cease at the end of the anniversary year, 1996. After that, the edition will be closed forever. You won't find it in stores. Willabee & Ward is the exclusive marketer of this very special set in the United States.

Attractively priced. Satisfaction guaranteed.

The Schuco 75th Anniversary Deluxe Collector's Set is priced favorably at \$139.95 plus shipping and handling, payable in five convenient monthly installments of \$29.89, charged to your credit

card. Price includes both cars, keys, all accessories, and the display box. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. If you are not thoroughly delighted, you may return the set within 30 days for a replacement or refund.



Car is 5 1/2" long.

The Studio Car comes complete with all these accessories.

Don't miss your chance to own the two most popular Schuco toy cars ever produced. Order today!

CALL TOLL-FREE:
1-800-367-4534
Ext. 799-101

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

The Schuco 75th Anniversary Deluxe Collector's Set

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Ext. 799-101

Please accept my reservation for _____ Schuco 75th Anniversary Deluxe Collector's Set(s). The price for each set is \$139.95, plus \$9.50 shipping/handling. I will pay for each set ordered in five monthly installments of \$29.89* charged to my credit card, the first to be charged upon shipment. I may return the set within 30 days of receipt for replacement or refund.

Credit Card:

☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard ☐ Am. Ex. ☐ Discover

Credit Card# _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

(All orders subject to acceptance)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ I prefer to pay by check.

Enclosed is my deposit of \$50. I will pay the balance as billed in four monthly installments of \$24.86* each.

*Plus any applicable sales tax.

© MBI

Bloody Iowa

*It was just a beauty contest.
All the votes were made of straw.
From Chicago, Gramm supporters
Came to hear their guy hee-haw,
But the Sunday after, pundits
Viewing entrails on the tubes
Said the senator from Kansas
Had been clobbered by the rubes.*

—W. H. VON DREELE



moral imperative of balancing the budget is a conservative crowd. These voters, who tend to be white middle-class family men living west of the Mississippi, are natural Republicans. But not on all issues—free trade for instance.

The question is how to win their votes without pandering. (On that score Bob Dole, who defended career politicians and attacked isolationism, deserves some credit.) On trade, principled Republicans just have to disagree with the Perotistas and seek to persuade them by reasoned argument. On issues like campaign-finance reform, they can honestly play to Perot supporters who want straight-shooters prepared to upset the ways of Washington. (Hence their admiration for politicians as disparate as John Kasich and Pat Buchanan.) But there is a third set of conservative issues that are popular with the voters but make inside-the-Beltway Republicans nervous—welfare reform that tackles illegitimacy, restrictions on immigration illegal and legal, an end to affirmative action, the restoration of a confident, inclusive sense of American identity in place of a disruptive multiculturalism.

Buchanan, of course, has done the pioneering work on these issues. But even Lamar Alexander attempts to use them with his aw-shucks, can-you-believe-I'm-actually-wearing-a-plaid-shirt? populism. And Phil Gramm, although he usually sticks to a more traditional economic conservatism, has begun to tap the reservoir of national anxiety about America's future. The GOP's problem is that the voters have been let down too often for the right rhetoric to be enough; they need evidence of real intent. Hence the threat posed to the GOP by the systematic torpedoing of the Contract by liberal Senate Republicans.

Bob Dole clearly suffered from this in Iowa, where he finished in a disappointing tie with Gramm and suffered from a distinct lack of enthusiasm among his supporters. But what should worry his campaign team at least as much is that it's hard to see where he fits into the populist, socially conservative GOP so prominent in Iowa and Dallas. He would doubtless make a per-

fectly capable President, cementing the GOP revolution by signing whatever bills it brought to his desk. But getting there by relying on the Republicans' "royalist" inclinations—nominating the next guy in line—may be more difficult than anyone thought.

Phil Gramm's Iowa achievement has given a boost to his campaign. And his welfare reform, as well as being principled (see above), is also politically smart. But Iowa still leaves him as Dole's chief rival, not the front-runner—and the resources he expended on the straw poll will limit how much he can spend on the caucuses next February. Meanwhile, Buchanan, on a shoestring, made a credible effort to trip up the big boys. The other campaigns should look at his performance. They probably need not worry about his carrying the nomination, but they should be giving long serious thought to why he is doing so well.

In a Strange Land

AND MR. Buchanan recently caused fluttering notable even by his standards with the simple observation that "Americans are leaving Miami" because of the influx of immigrants. Apparently it's insensitive nowadays to imply any distinction between immigrants and Americans; you have to specify "native-born Americans." But Buchanan was right. Not all immigrants naturalize: about 60 per cent of foreign-born residents overall, and about 57 per cent in Florida, have not become U.S. citizens.

But Buchanan's wider point has now been recognized by the *New York Times Magazine*, in an article by demographer William H. Frey and journalist Jonathan Tilove. They draw on 1990 Census data to show that "a decade of greater immigration, and greater minority immigration, than any in American history" has produced "a new, larger form of white flight." Whites are "leaving entire metropolitan areas and states—whole regions—for whiter destinations," thus "reshaping America more and more into two nations," half a dozen heterogeneous megalopolises and an increasingly homogeneous white heartland.

Nor is this internal migration a "white thing." Black Americans are leaving too, for the black cities of the South. America seems to be shaking down into ethnic enclaves. (NR Senior Editor Peter Brimelow publishes a map of this literally unsettling phenomenon in his book *Alien Nation*.) A Las Vegas-bound woman told Frey and Tilove that she "began to feel like an outsider" in her native southern California. She was, however, dutifully unbitter about her displacement by Vietnamese and Filipinos: "We took it from the Indians; who are we to complain?"

Americans, that's who—and the answer is not a flip-pant one. Unless Americans feel that we are a people, enjoying more in common with one another than with

FINAL PRODUCTION RUN

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY LIMITED-EDITION OFFICIAL A-2 FLYING JACKET

Act now to own this
commemorative version
of the jacket worn by
our World War II
flying heroes!

**FINAL
PRODUCTION
RUN.**

**No more
will be made
after 1995.**

Honoring Victory in World War II.

When the gallant pilots of the U.S. Army Air Corps took to the skies during World War II to defend freedom, they wore the legendary A-2 Leather Flying Jacket. The A-2 was lightweight and comfortable, yet "tough as nails" and identified its wearer as one of an elite breed of fighting men.

Announcing the final production run for *The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket*.

Genuine Military Issue. Not a Commercial Reproduction.

Cooper Sportswear was an original supplier of A-2 jackets during World War II and today still produces official military issue A-2's under contract to the Air Force. Now, *for the last time*, Cooper has agreed to produce *The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket*. This will be the final production run for this World War II Commemorative Edition. After 1995, it will never be made again. Each jacket is distinguished by a specially commissioned pictorial map lining. You will receive a Certificate of Authenticity stating that yours is an official A-2. **Not a reproduction and not a look-alike copy—this is the genuine article!** Available exclusively from Willabee & Ward.

Proudly Made in the U.S.A. to U.S. Air Force Specifications.

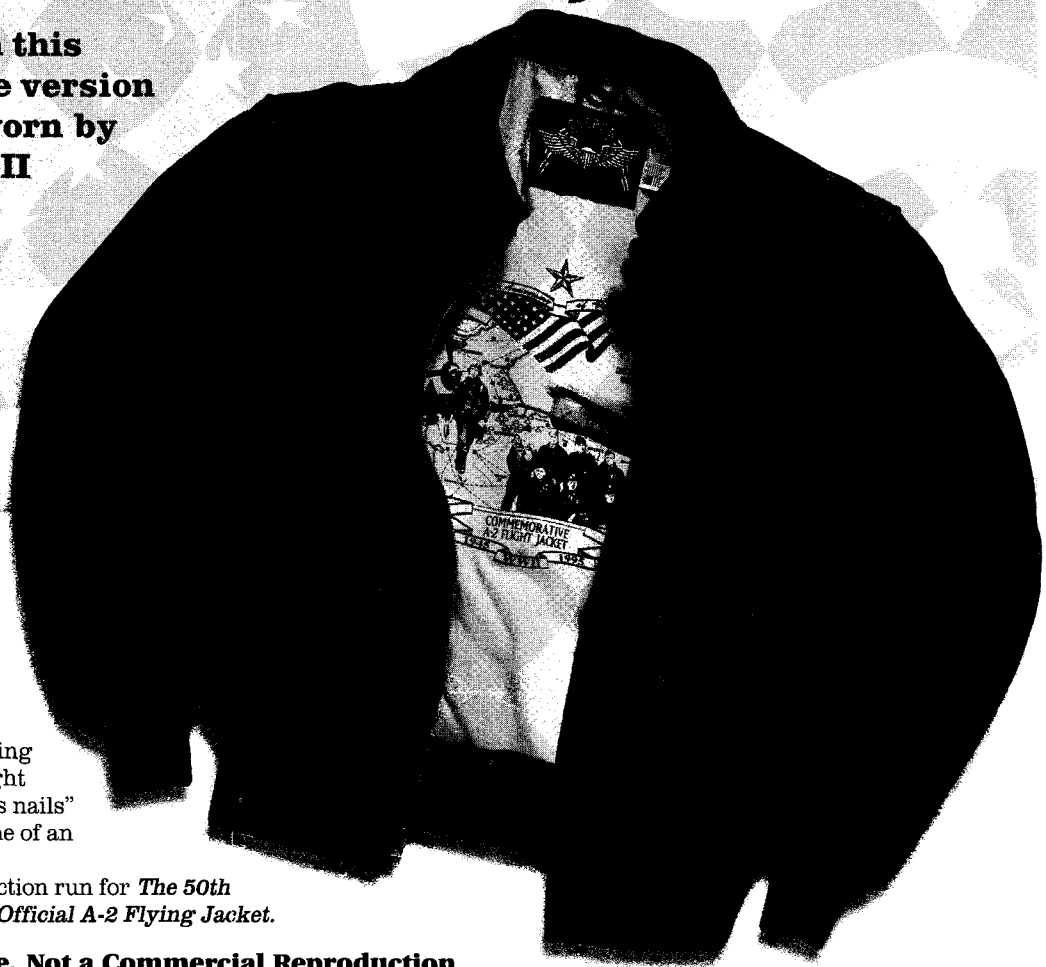
The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket is made in the U.S.A., using material and production methods specified by the U.S. Air Force. Premium goatskin assures ruggedness and great looks. Official military issue details include knitted cuffs and waistband, regulation snap-down collar, shoulder epaulets, and roomy snap-close pockets.



Convenient Monthly Installments.

You can own this jacket for just \$259 (plus \$9.50 shipping and handling) payable in six convenient monthly credit card installments of \$44.75. Satisfaction is guaranteed. You can return the jacket in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund. Available in even sizes 34-52 regular and long. Call about larger sizes (to 60) for \$50 more. (For best fit, order one size larger than your usual jacket size.) Questions about sizing? Call—we'll fit you over the phone. Order today! **But hurry...when they're gone, they're gone forever!**

Phone orders normally shipped next business day.



CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

Extension 779-1116

© MBI

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857



Satisfaction
Guaranteed.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

Extension 779-1116

Please send me _____ **50th Anniversary
Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket(s).**

Size(s) (Even sizes 34-52): _____ ☐ Reg. ☐ Long

For each jacket, charge 6 monthly installments of \$44.75* to my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. _____

Exp. Date _____

Name _____

(Please print clearly.)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____

(All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for \$259, plus \$9.50 shipping/handling, a total of \$268.50* for each jacket.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.
Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.

outsiders, and having a right of ownership in the country we helped build, we will gradually find ourselves strangers in a strange land.

Diplomatic Withdrawal

ALTHOUGH American policy toward the former Yugoslavia has often been weak and confused, it has had two real successes—which is two more than European policy has had. The first success was the American-brokered agreement that ended the fighting between Muslims and Croats and resulted in the Muslim-Croat federation and Bosnian-Croatian military alliance. The second was ensuring that the Croats were left free of serious international hindrance, so that they could re-take the so-called Krajina region of their country from rebel Serbs.

The crushing Croatian victory has fundamentally shifted the balance of advantage against the Serb aggressor. It secured Croatia's future prosperity by opening up access both for Croats and for tourists to the Dalmatian coast. It shattered shaky Serb morale. It split the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs and weakened the standing of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, so making him keener on compromise. It cemented the alliance between Croatia and Bosnia, which now is poised to make gains in Herzegovina (to secure the hinterland of Dubrovnik), and in northern and central Bosnia (where the Bosnian war will be won or lost). The prospects of rolling back aggression, reaching a just settlement entailing respect for borders and the return of refugees, and prompting the emergence of a new moderate Serb leadership have never been better.

At which point make way for ill-considered American-led diplomacy. Although the details of the latest American peace plan remain at the time of writing ob-

RIGHT DATA

Policy or Hypocrisy?

IN A recent column Mort Kondracke questioned the sincerity of those who advocate replacing welfare with private charity. Does all the talk about devolution and personal involvement, he wonders, jibe with what conservatives actually practice in their own lives? As it turns out, the groups most generous with their time and money correspond closely to core small-government constituencies.

In 1993, 92.3 per cent of households with incomes over \$100,000 gave to charity, up from about 80 per cent in 1987. The charitable impulse, as measured by the fraction of household income donated, also rose for these families—to 3.2 per cent in 1993 from 2.1 per cent in 1987. By contrast, the percentage of household income donated by families making under \$10,000 declined over this period.

Religious conservatives, a key element in the GOP's November sweep, are the most giving of all—and not just with their money. Statistics from 1994 show that 64 per cent of weekly churchgoers are volunteers of some sort, setting aside an average of 2.9 hours a week for this purpose. Meanwhile, only 33 per cent

of those who never attend church volunteer, giving an average of 1.1 hours a week.

In 1994 Americans gave \$130 billion to charity. Religious institutions received 45 per cent of this. Unfortunately, donations have not kept pace with inflation in recent years, and total giving as a percentage of personal income has dropped steadily from the peak reached

could claim a charitable deduction. To undo the damage, some Republicans would allow non-itemizers to divert a portion of their tax liability to charities instead of to government.

One reason Americans feel less obliged to give is that they've created a welfare state to meet their collective obligations. Federal anti-poverty spending skyrocketed to \$170.4 billion in 1994, more than double the \$84.1 billion spent in 1989. While projecting continued economic growth, the latest Clinton budget recommends a further 45 per cent increase by 1999. Not surprisingly, private donors are wary. In a recent survey of affluent individuals (in-

comes above \$200,000 or a net worth greater than \$3 million) by the United States Trust Company, 68 per cent of respondents said they would donate more to charities only if taxes and government spending were both reduced.

No one really expects charities to replace, dollar for dollar, the proposed welfare cuts. Fortunately, they don't have to. Welfare spending by state, local, and federal governments averages \$35,756 for every family below the poverty level. Obviously, families don't receive anything like this kind of money; as much as 70 cents of each government anti-poverty dollar go to people who are not poor. Charities can do far more with far less.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

GENEROSITY RISES WITH INCOME . . .

Annual Income:	% Giving to Charity		Average Donation	
	Over \$100K	Under \$10K	Over \$100K	Under \$10K
1987	79.8%	48.0%	\$2,225	\$172
1989	86.8	49.0	2,893	379
1991	91.1	45.6	2,450	239
1993	92.3	47.9	3,213	207

. . . and Church Attendance

	Weekly	No Attendance
Average Donation, 1994	\$1,164	\$308
% of Income Donated	3.0%	0.9%
% Volunteering	63.6	33.4

Source: Independent Sector

during the Reagan years. Although much of the shrinkage can be attributed to the economic slowdown of the early 1990s, ill-conceived federal tax policy is also culpable. The 1986 tax act, for example, decreed that only taxpayers who itemize

\$500,000 Term Life

GUARANTEED ANNUAL PREMIUMS, MALE NON-SMOKERS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Ten Year Level</u>	<u>Fifteen Year Level</u>	<u>Twenty Year Level</u>
35	\$ 390	\$ 445	\$ 575
40	\$ 530	\$ 625	\$ 775
45	\$ 785	\$ 935	\$ 1,164
50	\$ 1,185	\$ 1,435	\$ 1,699
55	\$ 1,735	\$ 2,225	\$ 2,640
60	\$ 2,645	\$ 3,525	\$ 4,149
65	\$ 4,705	\$ 5,885	\$ 6,819
70	\$ 8,285	\$ 9,980	\$11,645

All quotes shown are from insurance companies rated A-, A, A+ or A++ by A.M. Best Company and include all fees and commissions. Actual premiums and coverage availability will vary depending upon age, sex, state availability, health history and recent tobacco usage. All policies shown are guaranteed renewable to at least age 90, except in New York.

"Quotesmith provides a list of all insurance companies & plans that match specific needs. The first to make available this new custom-search service."

- Nation's Business

"Quotesmith saved us time and money. I shopped from my own office and found the best deal available. I was impressed."

- Linda Picazio, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

"New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the market..." - Kiplinger's Personal Finance

"Quotesmith keeps a database of about 350 insurance companies." - Good Housekeeping

"Quotesmith offers particularly thorough searches." - Los Angeles Times

"Quotesmith ranked more than 250 policies for Forbes. The premiums vary wildly." - Forbes

"Researching insurance companies can be confusing and tedious. To simplify the task, call Quotesmith." - SmartMoney

"Quotesmith will scan the insurers and provide a list of different policies suited to your needs." - Money Magazine

A free insurance price comparison service. Call 1-800-431-1147 right now to request quotes on any amount of \$250,000 or more. We'll scan the market by computer and check the rates and coverages of 160 leading term life companies. Your personal Best Buy Report will be mailed to you in one day. Your report will show the company names, the latest A.M. Best ratings of each company and the prices - *- all sorted by lowest cost.* Avoid buying mistakes. Use this new service to educate yourself *before* you talk to any insurance salesmen and *before* you buy or renew any life insurance policy. **Call 24 hrs. per day.**

Quotesmith

Insurance price comparison service

1-800-431-1147

Ad Code: NR 9/95

Babes in the Woods

*If Gretel (make that Hillary)
And Hansel (Bill, of course)
Sound cranky in the underbrush
Plus (they've been screaming) hoarse,
Blame Bradley, who's retiring
(His farewell sounded sour)
But plots an independent run.
(There goes—zonk!—Happy Hour.)*

—W. H. VON DREELE



scure, it is fairly clear that it will entail a more favorable treatment of the Serbs than the odds on the battlefield now warrant. Moreover, if the land-locked Bosnians were at last allowed to obtain the heavy weapons they need to reverse Serb conquests, they would be able to match Croatian successes. Once that happens, diplomats can begin to concentrate on upholding the rights of internationally recognized sovereign states, rather than acting as agents for their dismantlement. The time for diplomacy will come after aggression is reversed, not before.

Lest We Forget

NEARLY four years ago, America commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor with a poignant mixture of pride and sadness. Magazines ran cover stories and networks broadcast specials that revisited survivors and told the tales of heroism of both the living and the dead. We had set off on a four-year odyssey of similar memories, it seemed, as each month brought the fiftieth anniversary of another passage of arms in some quarter of the globe: Midway, Guadalcanal, North Africa, Anzio, Coral Sea, Savo Strait, New Guinea, Saipan, D-Day, the Battle of the Bulge, Tarawa, Iwo Jima, Okinawa. Not too long ago, those names flamed off the pages of history books read by every American schoolchild. Thirty years of educational experiment have dimmed their glow, but the commemorations kept on apace. Yet this year, with what ought to have been the crowning celebrations, V-E Day and V-J Day, a curious and inexplicable indifference has seized us.

V-E Day came and went with relatively little fanfare here. While Britain and France celebrated the victory with great public festivals, President Clinton failed even to show up. Then Mr. Clinton compounded this

lapse by allowing the oncoming V-J Day celebrations to be renamed "Victory in the Pacific," as if we had fought the Pacific war without an enemy. Proud remembrance of the war's end has also been damped this summer by an examination of the national conscience over our decision to drop the atomic bomb. But none of this quite explains the lack of fervor in the commemoration of a victory won against a cruel and resolute enemy.

Why have we not taken to the streets in grateful remembrance? An American heart should still swell at the sight of the flag raised over Mount Suribachi. The winning of World War II stands as an heroic achievement accomplished at heavy cost. The mystic chords of memory must be rung lest we grow unworthy of those who died for us.

The Mick, R I P

MICKEY Charles Mantle, born October 20, 1931, in Spavinaw, Oklahoma, led his team to twelve pennants and seven world championships. His personal achievements from 1953 to 1965 outstrip those of his superb contemporaries Aaron and Mays and rival those of DiMaggio himself. He combined a ballplayer's two greatest assets, speed and power, with leonine grace, often in surpassingly dramatic fashion, and with an absolute absence of posturing. That is how Mickey Mantle became, simply, The Mick.

When I was 14, I watched him pinch-hit yet another game-winning home run, this in his first at-bat after a slow-healing injury, and exclaimed that The Mick was a "hero." My father, sitting next to me, demurred. "Ted Williams is a hero," he said. "Coleman, Bauer, and Houk are heroes. The Mick has heart. But he's not a hero." My father had been a medic in World War II, and the men he named, ballplayers all, were combat veterans, three of them decorated for valor. The risks men run on a playing field, my father was suggesting, are only a metaphor for the real thing.

After his retirement, The Mick once again became Mickey Mantle, only now beset by more failings than even he could have thought possible. But at the end, after his liver was replaced and just weeks before he succumbed to a ferocious cancer on August 7, he once again became The Mick, his heart and his power—which had always resided in that heart and not in his muscle—intact, even within a body which he himself laughed at for its depletion.

I wonder if my father would not have conceded that here, at last, was heroism. Will not thousands of lives be saved by organs the donation of which will have been inspired by The Mick? And will not as many lives be reconsidered because of his admonition not to do as he did? If not heroism, then certainly gallantry. In our

Why you should pay \$349 for this radio.

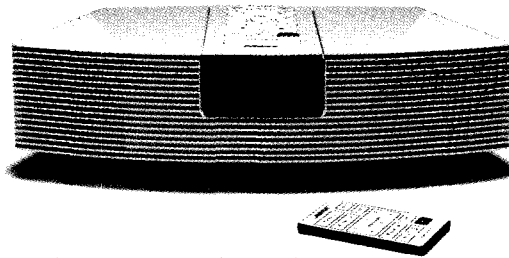
Obviously, it better not be just another radio. This one isn't. Quite simply, the Bose® Wave® radio gives you sound that's richer, more natural, more lifelike than you've ever heard from a radio. Many people think it actually sounds more like a stereo system. It's no exaggeration to say you have to hear it to believe it.

Finally, Bose sound from a small radio.

The Wave® radio is from Bose, one of the world's leading makers of audio equipment. A few years ago, we undertook the task of getting Bose-quality sound from a small radio. To do it, we used our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Just as a flute strengthens a breath of air to fill an entire concert hall, the waveguide produces room-filling sound from a small enclosure.

Touch a button and hear your favorite music come alive in rich, lifelike stereo sound—sound that lets you hear every

note the way it's *meant* to be heard. Which is why it's well worth \$349. No matter what kind of music you enjoy,



the Wave® radio will truly increase your listening pleasure. Consider that *Popular Science* honored the Wave® radio with a "Best Of What's New" award. *BusinessWeek* named it a "Best New Product of 1994." And since it's small enough to fit almost anywhere, you can listen in your bedroom, living room, kitchen, or any room.

Great sound made easy.

In addition to great sound, we built in an array of easy-to-use features

no other radio gives you. Operate the radio from across the room with the credit card-sized remote control.

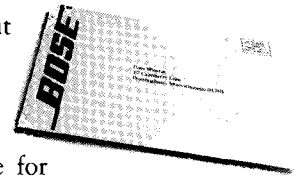
Pre-set your favorite six AM and six FM stations and switch between them at the touch of a button.

Bring great sound to your favorite

recordings by connecting the Wave® radio to your CD or cassette player. Or connect your TV or VCR to make your favorite programs and movies come alive.

You have to hear it.

We don't expect you to take our word for how good the Wave® radio sounds. You really have to hear it to believe it. The Wave® radio is available directly from Bose. Use the toll-free number or the coupon to request more information. Or call to try out the Wave® radio in your home for



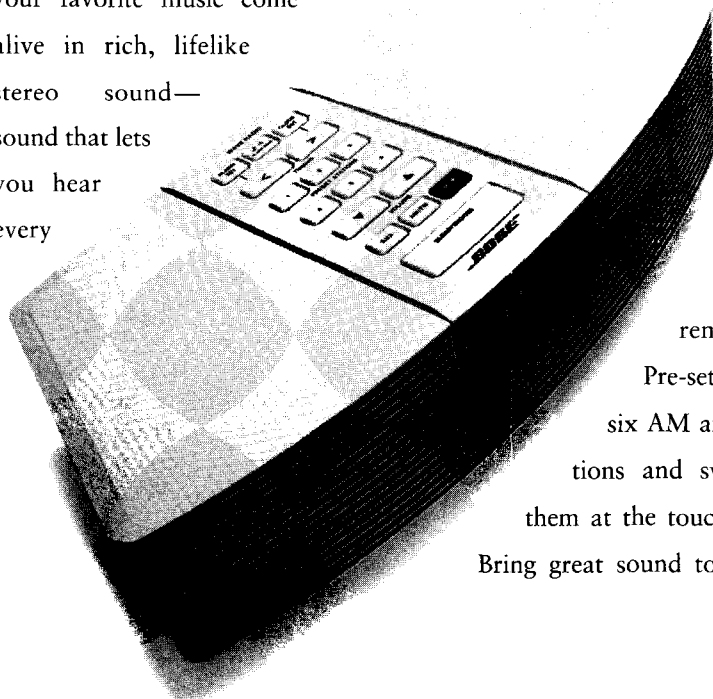
fourteen days, satisfaction guaranteed. If you love it, keep it. If not, return it for a refund of the purchase price.

Call 1-800-845-BOSE, ext. RP336, or send the coupon today.

You've had a lot of radios—small radios, portable radios. It's time you owned the best-sounding radio—the Bose Wave® radio.

Call 1-800-845-BOSE, ext. RP336.

Mr./Mrs./Ms.		
Name (Please print)		
Address		
City	State	Zip
()	()	
Daytime telephone		Evening telephone
Mail to: Bose® Corporation, Dept. CDD-RP336, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168, or fax to 508-485-4577.		



© 1995 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. Price is subject to change without notice.

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

imagination The Mick lives. But where metaphor and Reality are finally one: May he rest in peace.

—J. COMO

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

From a freshman course in philosophical problems (mumblety-mumble years ago) I remember an argument to prove that it is impossible for a man to walk across the room. It goes like this:

1) In order to walk across the room you must walk 10 feet. 2) In order to walk 10 feet, you must first walk 5 feet; in order to walk 5 feet, you must first walk 2½ feet; and so on, half the distance, and half of that. 3) Ultimately you must perform an infinite number of tasks in order to walk across the room. Since man is finite, he cannot perform an infinite number of tasks; ergo the task is impossible.

I believe this kind of reasoning is why Congress cannot zero out the deficit and pay down the debt:

Finite congressmen cannot eliminate an infinite number of federal programs; ergo fiscal responsibility is impossible.

Should we send them to Philosophy 101?

Most sincerely yours,
Rev. Craig Combs
Roanoke, Va.

Dear Rev. Combs: Why not? There Zeno lies waiting, surrounded by his paradoxes. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am a 12-year-old boy from Oyster Bay, New York.

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL 95



If you could give me advice for life, what would it be?

Sincerely,
Kalman Gabriel
Oyster Bay, N.Y.

Dear Kalman: Don't grow up. Cordially,

WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Some years back, eight or nine, I was on a business trip to Germany, traveling Lufthansa. By some oversight I'd been assigned a first-class seat (where I learned with delight that you actually get a little something to drink before the plane takes off!). I was enjoying my ginger ale, when I looked up and spotted you, Wm. F. Buckley himself, standing relaxed in the short, wide aisle, dressed in slacks and a sportcoat, fiddling with a pencil in time-honored fashion, darting looks, eagle-like, among the other passengers.

"It's actually he!" I thought, for you were unmistakable. I arose at once and presented myself. I'm sure you have forgotten the incident, so I'll refresh your memory. "Mr. Buckley!" I said. "How splendid to encounter you. My wife and I are great admirers of your writing, despite some of its small flaws; even more, of course, of the philosophy that animates it. Do keep up the good work!"

You glanced at me coolly. "I am not knowink zis Bugley perzon everyone zays I am lookink like. He zounds like a goot fellow."

After the initial shock, I decided to play along. "Trotzdem," said I, "sehr angenehm ist es, Euch, erkannt oder unerkannt, kennenzulernen."

Your gaze remained impassive. "Zis is remarkable German," you said in English. Noncommittal and therefore indicative. I nodded and, sensing the conversation was over, went back to my ginger ale, though I had hoped to talk a little about NR and other things. I

didn't see you again on the flight, nor after, despite thorough glancings about at Customs and baggage claim. I just wanted to say, the phony accent is pretty good, but next time you travel incognito, don't wear a sportcoat and slacks—they're giveaways; you tell a traveling German by his creaseless black pants—and for Heaven's sake lose the pencil.

Sincerely,
Mark T. Skarstedt, PhD
Franklinville, N.J.

Dear Mr. Skarstedt: The reason you didn't see it again is that chimeras tend to evaporate. By the way, the Doppelgänger shouldn't have had a pencil on him if his design was imitation. I haven't used pencils since school. Cordially,

—WFB

Why does this differ from every other handbook on our government?

Clarence Carson pulls no punches as he explains why:

"It would be a considerable fraud to do a book on American government which talked as if the Constitution were still being substantially observed, that pretended that when Presidents took the oath of office they intended to observe the bounds set by the Constitution, that Congressmen recited their pledges with the same intent, and that federal judges were still construing the Constitution as it was written. In sum, any book on American government worthy of the name ought to make clear how remote from the Constitution the government has become."

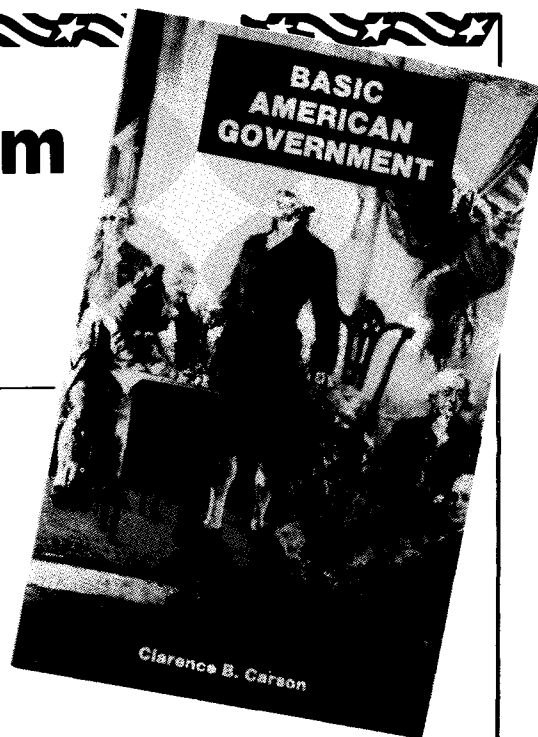
This is the book. Which is why we believe that it's the only book on our government that Americans can trust today. Carson gives you all the basics, including:

- ▶ The roots of the American system, both scriptural and secular . . . key contributions of ancient Greece and Rome . . . the Middle Ages . . . the Renaissance . . . the Reformation . . . modern Europe and England . . . and our own colonial experience
- ▶ The battle over the Constitution. The framers' real intentions, as shown in their writings
- ▶ Betrayed, especially in our time: the letter AND the spirit of the Constitution
- ▶ How government functions at each level — federal, state and local. The court system, from justice of the peace to the Supreme Court
- ▶ The changing presidency. The impact (for better or worse) of Washington . . . Jefferson . . . Lincoln . . . FDR and his successors
- ▶ The rise of the Welfare State. The staggering growth of government spending and bureaucracy
- ▶ Massive departures from the Constitution in our century (on the way to the Leviathan state). How to get the government back on course

Use coupon to get
this \$32.95, 603-page
volume FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates. Books on current issues, religion, education, homeschooling, politics, children's books, etc. — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-95% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do not count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.



What every American must know about our government

Carson exposes errors and myths that litter most other texts on our government as he refutes decades of liberal propaganda:

- The God-derived "natural law" principles on which our government was based. How they were corrupted, and finally abandoned. The secularist philosophies that took over
- Why the Civil War was unconstitutional. How it upset the balance of powers and led to unprecedented federal control
- The three events that mark the "great divide" in American history — even more than the Civil War
- Why it is inaccurate to call our system a "democracy"
- The rise of "judicial activism." The Court's effort to drive religion and morality out of public life. How Constitutional *protections* of religion gradually became laws against religion
- How new "rights" not found in the Constitution (e.g., abortion, pornography) were created by Court fiat
- The difference between revolutionary and evolutionary socialism. How the latter dominated our government in recent decades — in everything but name

This book is valuable for parents who want to correct the misinformation fed to our children today. Homeschoolers will never find a better text.

But please, don't think of this simply as a fine textbook. Think of it as the perfect companion to your own ideas about where our country SHOULD be headed; and the ideal guidebook for your own efforts to restore decency to government and society. Clarence Carson puts the sources and the answers at your fingertips.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

33 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me FREE the 603-page, \$32.95 *Basic American Government* by Clarence B. Carson. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-263

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

CAPITAL SCENE

Empty Souter

RAMESH PONNURU



Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C. WHEN William Brennan retired from the Supreme Court in 1990, conservatives would have picked someone other than David Souter to replace him. The constitutional views of the Chief Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court were largely unknown, and he ran with a bad crowd: his chief Senate sponsor was Warren Rudman (R., N.H.), no friend of judicial conservatives. But the Bush Administration wanted a nominee without the kind of paper trail that had doomed Robert Bork; and Bush felt an affinity for Souter, whom all accounts describe as nice, well-mannered, and thoroughly decent. Most conservatives, presented with a *fait accompli* and assured by White House Chief of Staff John Sununu that Souter would be “a home run,” supported the nominee with varying degrees of enthusiasm. His Senate testimony defending an originalist approach to constitutional interpretation led Terry Eastland to predict in these pages that Souter would defend

Mr. Ponnuru is NR's national reporter.

the original meaning of the Constitution and thus probably provide the fifth vote to overrule *Roe v. Wade*.

It hasn't quite worked out that way. In one week in July 1992, Souter dispelled the illusions of his former backers by voting to reaffirm *Roe* (in *Casey v. Planned Parenthood*) and to prohibit prayer at high-school graduation ceremonies (in *Lee v. Weisman*). Since then he has voted consistently with the liberal wing of the Court—as, this year, on federalism, term limits, affirmative action, racial gerrymandering, school desegregation, and religion. In cases that split Justices Thomas and Stevens, the right and left poles of the Court, Souter was much more likely to side with Stevens than any other Justice—including Clinton appointees Stephen Breyer and Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

The *Casey* decision exemplifies the objectionable tendencies in Souter's style of judging. In their joint opinion, Justices Souter, O'Connor, and Kennedy signaled the Court's willingness to tolerate some restrictions on abortion; but they also gave abortion rights a firmer constitutional anchor than ever before. Abortion rights, it turns out, are part of the “liberty” mentioned in the Fourteenth Amendment, because “At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, the universe, and of the mystery of human life.” In other words, as Notre Dame law professor Gerard Bradley explains, “constructing your own moral universe” is now a constitutional right guaranteed by the Court.

The joint opinion strongly implied that one or more of the three Justices would have voted the other way if not for the *Roe* precedent. Souter drafted a section explaining that *Roe* should be upheld both because Americans had come to rely on the “availability of abortion” in arranging important as-

pects of their lives and because reversing *Roe* would appear to be “a surrender to political pressure. . . . So to overrule under fire in the absence of the most compelling reason to re-examine a watershed decision would subvert the Court's legitimacy beyond any serious question.” In effect, Souter made the Supreme Court a party to the case it was judging.

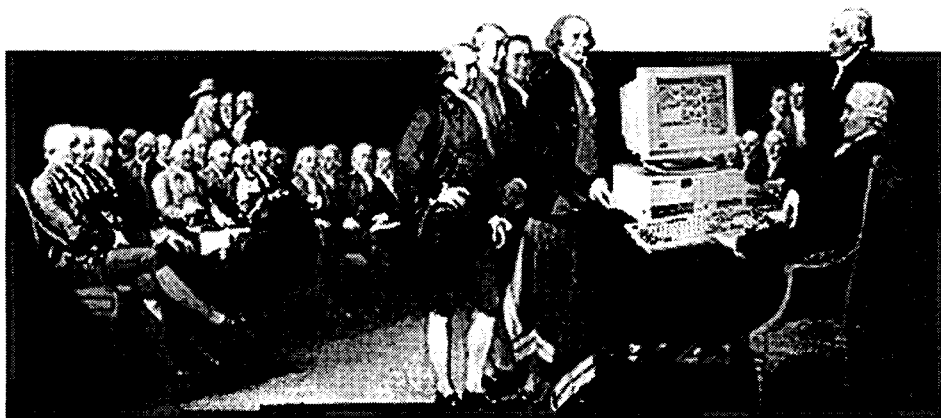
People who never used to like judicial restraint are praising Souter's restraint in undoing past liberal activism. But Thomas Jipping, the Free Congress Foundation's Court-watcher, insists, “It is not judicial restraint to adhere to unconstitutional decisions.” A recent essay by Bradley notes that taking *Casey's* discussion of precedent seriously would imply a major new claim of judicial power, since even the Warren Court at least claimed to ground its rulings in the 1787 Constitution as amended rather than in previous rulings it recognized as incorrect. But *Casey* did not really adhere to precedent anyway, as Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justice Scalia wrote at the time: it altered *Roe* substantially (ditching its trimester framework, for instance) and frankly overruled many subsequent elaborations of it. It's hard to avoid the conclusion that Souter simply contrived the whole analysis to reach the policy result he desired.

Another revealing passage of Souter's section of the decision, however, was almost certainly sincere. In it he explained that when “the Court decides a case in such a way as to resolve the sort of intensely divisive controversy reflected in *Roe*,” the Court “calls the contending sides of a national controversy to end their national division.” Souter wants to unify the country from the bench. It's not a moderate ambition for a jurist; but what the task lacks in constitutional mandate it makes up in practical futility. The liberals' Constitution cannot bring the nation together because it always comes down on one side of the “culture wars” by imposing a controversial conception of unencumbered personhood.

Souter's voting record leads some conservatives to fear that assisted suicide and gay marriage will soon get the Court's protection, in keeping with *Casey's* rationale. This record leads Princeton legal scholar Robert George to call Souter “the Blackmun of the Nineties—the chief judicial exponent of a morally corrupt idea of freedom.” His jurisprudence differs from Warren Court ac-

TOWN HALL has created something *Revolutionary!*

For the second time in history, people concerned about the direction of their government and committed to the ideals of freedom and liberty are coming together. But this time they are meeting on **TOWN HALL** – the first community on the Internet for people who are passionate about conservative ideas and politics.



Now you can have 24 hour on-line access to the best sources of news and information from the conservative movement. Visit **TOWN HALL** and discover how these organizations are shaping the new conservative world:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| ☆ The Heritage Foundation | ☆ The National Commission on Economic Growth and Tax Reform |
| ☆ National Review | ☆ National Minority Politics |
| ☆ American Conservative Union | ☆ Progress and Freedom Foundation |
| ☆ Americans for Tax Reform | ☆ Small Business Survival Committee |
| ☆ Empower America | ☆ The Washington Times National Weekly Edition |
| ☆ Family Research Council | ☆ Young America's Foundation |
| ☆ The Leadership Institute | |

<http://www.townhall.com>

TOWN HALL also offers a private forum on CompuServe for \$16 a month (plus CompuServe's basic services fee). For a 30-day free trial to CompuServe, call **800-441-4142**. If you are already a CompuServe user, **GO TOWNHALL!**

For more information or free Internet access software, call us today at **800-441-4142** (in Washington, DC, call 202-547-6368).

Join the Second American Revolution. Join TOWN HALL today.

T O W N  H A L L

Explore The New Conservative World

A project of National Review and The Heritage Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tivism mainly in style. Bradley describes Souter's approach as an "intellectually respectable form of liberal judicial activism . . . only with attention to analytical structure and much more concern for the appearances of the judicial craft than the Warren Court ever gave you." Souter's written opinions, however, are not distinguished by their eloquence, authority, or originality. His analyses of legal history, particularly in church-state cases, are often slipshod.

Jipping downplays Souter's significance: "He's irrelevant to the Court; he's losing the votes." Despite Souter, conservatives this year have enjoyed small victories on federalism and church-state relations and dramatic ones on race. But NYU Law Professor James Simon, author of a recent book celebrating the failure of the conservative judicial project, points out that the Court's 1988-89 term witnessed even more substantial conservative victories, accompanied by talk of a Rehnquist revolution. That revolution fizzled, and so could this one.

The standard conservative explanation for why Republicans go astray in the Beltway—they want media accolades—probably doesn't explain Souter. His experience as a judge in New Hampshire may have predisposed him to activism: most of his cases concerned the common law, which involves considerable judicial discretion. Most importantly, the very "stealth-nomination" strategy which guided the Bush Administration's nominee-selection process was unlikely to yield a conservative Justice. It is foolhardy to predict that a nominee will adhere to originalism unless he has the decisions, articles—and scars—to prove it.

Republican Presidents have appointed seven of the current Justices. After years of conservative effort, the Court has three reliable judicial conservatives and four reliable liberals; many public-policy issues depend on the votes of O'Connor and Kennedy. Yet Republicans seem to have learned little from their experience. Phil Gramm and Pat Buchanan are the only prominent Republicans who have criticized Justice Souter. George Bush reportedly still stands by Souter, saying that he proves that liberal critics of Bush's judicial selection process were wrong. One of those critics, Nan Aron of the left-wing Alliance for Justice, graciously acknowledges: "We've been pleasantly surprised [by Souter]. . . . We're very pleased." □

Fear Itself

RICH LOWRY



WASHINGTON, D.C.

DIRTY rotten stinking . . . meat," screams the headline of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) press release. "Warner to Voters: 'Eat This.'" DSCC executive director Don Foley elaborates: "Senator Warner is an E-Coli Republican. His vote for corporate greed and irresponsible government literally threatens American lives." Lest anyone miss the point, the DSCC release includes a cartoon depicting Warner dishing out putrid meat to a kid.

Juvenile campaign tactics are, of course, a bi-partisan affair. The National Republican Congressional Committee's recent "wanted" poster of prominent House liberals won't be winning awards for high-mindedness. But there are differences that make Democratic broadsides worth special notice: their shrill attacks still have a credulous echo-chamber among the establishment media; they often seem to work; and they may be all that's left in the Democratic arsenal.

Consider the stalled effort on regulatory reform. On July 3, as the Senate prepared to take up Bob Dole's reform bill, the *New York Times* ran a front-page story that alleged a GOP assault on food safety. Calls poured in to the Center for Science in the Public Interest, a consumer-advocacy group that along with Safe Tables Our Priority (STOP), a coalition of families of *E. coli* victims, had already been agitating on food

safety. These groups argued that regulatory reform would nix proposed U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) meat-inspection standards, exposing millions to tainted meat.

At one event, activists took 100 hamburgers to Capitol Hill to hand out to senators, daring them to play "hamburger roulette." Reporters ate it up. In the wake of the Jack in the Box outbreak in 1993 in which three children died, the bacterium is a high-profile poster-child for food contamination. Perhaps the most damaging story was one that aired on ABC News, with a reporter alleging that under regulatory reform new meat-inspection rules "could be dismantled." Then the father of an *E. coli* victim warned against any reform-induced delay of new rules: "Every time there's a delay, over one child a day dies."

The thrust of the ABC story and most other *E. coli* commentary in the media was dubious on three grounds:

—The original draft of the Dole bill had several provisions providing an emergency by-pass for new regulations deemed necessary to protect the public from an imminent threat to its health or safety. In any case, the bill's cost-benefit analysis wouldn't stop new meat-inspection rules if they were likely to deliver the touted benefits.

—The proposed new testing is expressly aimed at catching meat infected with salmonella, not *E. coli*. Activists and the media focused on *E. coli* anyway because it's scarier. Furthermore, the difference between the inspection changes favored by industry and those sought by the USDA is hardly dramatic.

—The figure of 500 *E. coli* deaths a year—more than one child dying a day—is surely an exaggeration. Anti-reform activists cite the Centers for Disease Control for the figures. But when the independent D.C.-based Statistical Assessment Service (STATS) ran the numbers, knocking out unwarranted extrapolations, it came up with a range of 3 to 73 *E. coli* deaths a year.

"What you really seem to be getting is a known prospect for maybe 3 or 4 people a year dying and then a huge black

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter

box of assumptions and guesses," says David Murray of STATS. "The highest-end numbers were selected to get the maximum exposure from [the] press."

ON THE environment the story is similar. When Republicans proposed restrictions on the Environmental Protection Agency in July, Democrats accused them of—what else?—endangering children. The Republican changes, Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D., Conn.) charged, "will make it easier for lead and arsenic to contaminate our drinking water, causing immeasurable harm to our children." Louis Stokes (D., Ohio) told listeners that "while efforts to control refinery toxic emissions go into suspended animation, the lungs of our citizens will not."

Never mind that with the exception of a provision limiting enforcement of the Clean Water Act—meant to prod the Senate into re-authorizing the Clean Water Act—many of the 17 so-called "riders" on the EPA appropriations bill

are minor, dealing with issues like auto-emissions testing. President Clinton still denounced the bill as a threat to Americans' "basic safety." In August, he alleged it would allow oil refineries "to spew benzene, a cancer-causing chemical, without stringent safeguards." Actually, the rider in question is meant to keep the EPA from using 15-year-old emissions data to justify a new tightening of refinery regulations.

Still, Democratic jabs can sting. "If you give them any kind of hook," explains a GOP leadership aide, "even if it's not wholly true or wholly accurate, they can use that to reinforce [a] pre-existing notion." Especially on issues like regulation and the environment, Republicans resort to a defensive crouch. "On welfare, the Speaker and Republican leaders are able to articulate an alternative vision," says Jonathan Adler of the Competitive Enterprise Institute. "The Republicans have yet to transfer that approach to the environment."

The bright side to the Democratic as-

saults is that the party seems to have little else. As Majority Leader Dick Armey likes to put it: "The party that once lived by the proud motto 'We have nothing to fear, but fear itself,' has been reduced to a political strategy of: 'We have nothing to offer but fear itself.'"

But fear together with a compliant media can be a useful weapon. In March, a GOP staffer held a courtesy briefing for Democratic staff on regulatory reform. He had three lawyers, all experts, along to help answer questions. Afterwards, an account of the meeting was leaked to the *New York Times* (almost certainly by a Democratic staffer), which on March 31 ran a front-page story suggesting that the lawyers' presence at the informal, open briefing proved that lobbyists control the GOP. The White House talked up the story. The Ralph Nader group Public Citizen filed ethics charges (which have since been dismissed). The evidence? The March 31 *New York Times*. □

THE BIBLE MADE THEM DO IT

FOREWORD BY SCOTT HAHN

SURPRISED BY TRUTH

11 Converts Give
the Biblical and
Historical Reasons
for Becoming
Catholic

Patrick Madrid

The runaway
bestseller!

Surprised by Truth, this year's smash best-seller, introduces you to 11 recent converts to Catholicism, including ordained ministers in evangelical denominations. Their pursuit of Christ and their study of the Bible and Church history led them to the place they least expected.

These fascinating personal accounts are packed with biblical, historical, and theological proofs for Catholicism. Each year thousands of atheists, Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, and others are being surprised by Catholic truth, and *these converts tell you why*.

"If I had to get rid of every book in my store and carry just one, it'd be *Surprised by Truth* hands down. Everyone loves it. It's the best tool I know of for sharing the Catholic faith." — David Wilder Auburn, New York

Yes! I want to know why so many are converting to the Catholic Church. Send my postpaid copy of *Surprised by Truth*. I enclose a check or money order for \$17 (U.S. funds only). I understand my book will be sent by priority mail.

Basilica Press, P.O. Box 85152, Dept. 134, San Diego, CA 92186

NAME _____

STREET ADDRESS _____

APT. # _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

NR-A

Order Toll-free now! Call with your credit card
VISA, MASTERCARD, AMEX, DISCOVER ACCEPTED

800-879-4214

BREAD & CIRCUSES

A LONG with the late-summer humidity, an air of ghoulish anticipation hangs over Washington. Spectators are gathering for the advertised "train wreck" when President Clinton vetoes the tax-cut and spending bills sent him by Congress, and Republicans retaliate by refusing to extend the government's authority to borrow, thus prohibiting all but "essential" government spending. The city entertains itself with the frightful prospect. White House officials warn of the number of air-traffic controllers, meat inspectors, and prison guards who will be laid off. (Somehow they never mention IRS auditors.) Hill Republicans call on the know-how of budget veterans of the Reagan-Bush years to ensure that Social Security checks flow out with no interruption. And the White House press corps reshuffles its metaphors: the rumble of the trains coming around the bend, the helpless screams as Miss Fiscal Responsibility is tied to the tracks, the innocent bystanders in harm's way . . . but, wait, the script has no ending.

For what do those in charge want? Or what is the best they think they can get? The late Herman Kahn once argued that the way to win a game of chicken was to get into the vehicle visibly drunk and to throw the steering wheel out the window. In Beltwayese: if the GOP wanted to try forcing the President to adopt its agenda unadulterated, it would have to pass a debt-ceiling bill that includes all its reforms—and then adjourn. But who would lead this struggle to bring Washington to heel and then go home triumphant? Last month Bob Dole reminded us needlessly: "I'm not one of these 'in your face, it's got to be my way or no way' kind of conservatives. . . . People want to get things done around here." Nor have any steering wheels been seen flying out the windows of the Cannon House Office Building lately. All in all, it seems each party will keep a white-knuckled grip on

the steering wheel and a foot hovering over the brake.

But Republican House leaders have a problem. Now that the Contract with America has crashed into the Senate, they have to re-define what constitutes success. So they stress their commitment to three key reforms.



These must-dos are a spending plan that meets the goal of a balanced budget by 2002, welfare reform, and Medicare savings.

The smart money says that a compromise deal will be possible if it includes these necessities.

In exchange for the President's tacit endorsement of a CBO-scored, seven-year deficit-reduction plan, Republicans could shift some money back into his pet programs and strip the appropriations bills of such conservative riders on abortion, regulation, and labor as survive conference with the Senate. After all, under CBO calculations, the White House and Congress are not too far apart on the amount of money needed to rescue Medicare. And Clinton would accept a tax-cut package that was scaled down far enough. As for the current welfare mess, that exists because both parties have long found it in their interest to pass pseudo-reforms every few years. They can do it again with their eyes closed. The requisite common ground can easily be marked out, once both sides decide it's in their political interest to compromise.

The auguries are disturbingly favorable. Dick Morris will doubtless advise the President to show that he can a) temper the "far right" influences in Congress and b) govern. Republicans would limit their political risks by achieving a bi-partisan Medicare plan while fulfilling their central promise of a zero deficit. To be sure, much of the social-conservative agenda would be jettisoned, and significant tax cuts abandoned. But Beltway wisdom has it that this was inevitable anyway. As one senior Hill aide asks: "Why grind the

entire government to a halt on behalf of issues that we don't have the votes for?"

How would a compromise be received by those "in your face" conservatives who so discomfort Senator Dole? The freshmen recognize that they did not campaign exclusively on a balanced budget. Having cast their votes to rein in excessive regulations, they feel they've already taken the heat for them. And many have an *a priori* commitment to the pro-life agenda. GOP freshman Mark Souder of Indiana grumbles: "We understand we don't have the Presidency, but social conservatives ought to be able to get *something* if leaders hold the line."

Their enthusiasm might erode over the recess, however, as back home Democrats and Republicans trade "you're gutting, we're saving" Medicare charges. One veteran of bruising partisan battles involving the elderly believes that freshmen "might be more compliant" when they've spent August finding their constituents less willing than RNC focus groups to buy GOP prescriptions.

So which way will they jump? Timing may be crucial. Too early a deal and the liberal and conservative party bases could dig in against any compromise. But honest accounting may be crucial too. The freshmen will oppose anything that smacks of smoke and mirrors. As Sam Brownback of Kansas puts it, they want to show "a different government." And there are sure to be temporary derailments and hidden pitfalls along the way. If GOP unity over Medicare restructuring breaks down, making a zero deficit impossible, the President will shrug his shoulders and walk away, leaving Republicans to lick their wounds.

SHOULD avoiding a train wreck be what the GOP leadership most desires? A compromise with Clinton would give them trimmed taxes, the course to a balanced budget, strengthened Medicare, and modifications to federal welfare, even at the cost of delaying the rest of the GOP agenda. But it would also let Washington show once again that there are no differences between the parties that can't be settled behind closed doors. And that's the suspicion that fuels third-party talk.

Despite the auguries, perhaps a train wreck is inevitable, with the only question whether Republicans will be joined with the Washington establishment or with Middle America when it happens.

—KATE O'BEIRNE

Applause, Applause

Anyone can win over a tough audience, says hailed speechwriter. Just ask Lee Iacocca.

American Speaker

Your Guide to Successful Speaking

THE AMERICAN SPEAKER

Your Guide to Successful Speaking
Aram Bakshian, Jr., Editor (600 pages;
Georgetown Publishing House)

By Leah Thayer

The difference between success and failure, writes Aram Bakshian, Jr., in this remarkable new resource for public speakers, is the ability to communicate clearly and effectively. Never has this been more true than in today's intensely competitive business climate.

Bakshian should know. Speechwriter to "The Great Communicator" himself, Ronald Reagan, as well as to two other former presidents and the heads of several major corporations, Bakshian has witnessed the rise and fall of international leaders based on their ease — or lack of ease — on the podium. Anyone can master the art of speaking in public, Bakshian says, "In the last analysis, the spoken word is still king."

Fear and loathing of the rubber chicken circuit have long plagued public figures. "No one knows how I hate making speeches," President Calvin Coolidge once complained to a friend.

Bakshian tackles head-on the challenges of public speaking in *AMERICAN SPEAKER*. "As with alcoholism," he writes, "there is no known cure for stage fright. You're either a 'chronic' sufferer or a 'recovering' sufferer." In either case, it's easy to minimize that suffering — or even turn it into an advantage. As Carroll O'Connor, the legendary "Archie Bunker," put it, "A professional actor has a kind of tension. The amateur is thrown by it, but the professional needs it."

Perhaps the best contemporary example is Lee Iacocca, who saved the Chrysler Corporation by using his enormous talent as a speaker to win the support of the Congress, the White House and the American people for the biggest corporate bailout in history. Iacocca himself attributes his business success to speaking. In his autobiography, he writes: "I've seen a lot of guys who are smarter than I am and a lot who know more about cars. And yet I've lost them in the smoke. Why? Because I'm tough? No ... You've got to know how to talk to them, plain and simple."

Business is the single biggest rhetorical arena. From simple retail sales spiels to sensitive boardroom presentations, speech keeps the wheels of commerce turning. In making a first impression, Bakshian writes, "Your appearance can raise expectations, but what you say and how you say it will determine how people evaluate you." A good speaker is always in demand. At events from business conventions to weddings, "a good speaker not only adds to the occasion, he also benefits from 'free advertising' that adds to his stature in the community and attracts future business."

Unusual for a book or periodical of any kind, *AMERICAN SPEAKER* is more of a personal mentor — a do-it-yourself guide designed to save hours or days of preparation time, or, conversely, an enormous bill from a professional speechwriter or "coach."

It's a clever, accessible concept: a three-ring binder crammed with hundreds of pages of material on every imaginable aspect of public address: body language, delivering an inspiring eulogy, antidotes to nervousness, using humor, developing a powerful speaking voice, or engaging the audience in a positive question-and-answer session. Bakshian offers sensible, uplifting advice for every occasion, from the Thanksgiving toast to a defense of your industry before a hostile audience.

Arranged alphabetically, *AMERICAN SPEAKER* is easy to navigate, highly entertaining and loaded with good ideas. In the calendars section, for instance, Bakshian compiles thousands of speech pegs for every day of the year in three calendars: celebrity birthdays, today in history and the months at a glance. "Every audience gathered to share a common interest or celebrate a specific occasion has a built-in common bond," Bakshian writes. "A

good speaker doesn't just know this; a good speaker takes advantage of it." He demonstrates how a shared reference can warm up the audience, draw a favorable analogy or build a bridge from past to present.

What about actual speeches? They're all over *AMERICAN SPEAKER*. A section on acceptance speeches includes as an example Winston Churchill's masterful appearance before Parliament in 1954, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. To illustrate the business address, Bakshian quotes nine speeches that used humor and anecdotes to deliver serious messages to several very different audiences. In the education section, Bakshian shows how cartoonist Garry Trudeau hilariously defused the "political correctness" time bomb in speaking to a graduating class at Yale University. And so on.

But here's what really makes *AMERICAN SPEAKER* stand out from the crowd of business publications. In addition to the basic 600-page volume, readers also receive timely updates, transcripts of recent, powerful speeches and a free consulting service with Bakshian, to resolve those last-minute speaking challenges. Best of all, the entire package is guaranteed. Review *AMERICAN SPEAKER* for 30 days. If it doesn't meet your expectations, return it to Georgetown Publishing House for a complete refund.

Few professionals can afford to ignore a promise like that *AMERICAN SPEAKER* (\$297, including bimonthly updates) is not available in any bookstore. Copies are available only from Georgetown Publishing House.

To order, write to: Georgetown Publishing House, 1101 30th St., NW, Dept. 4BJ5, Washington, DC 20007. Or call them at 800-915-0022 — or, fax 202-337-1512. ■

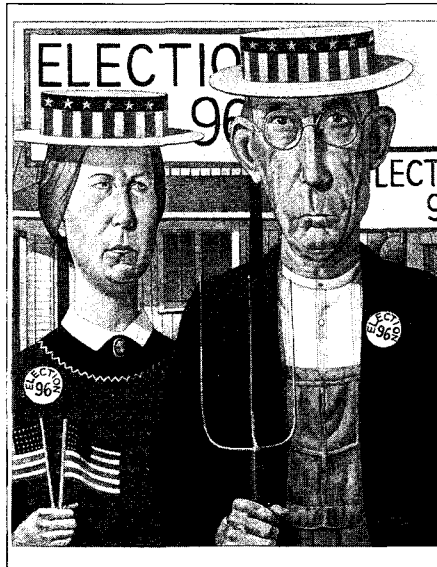


The chairmen of Fortune 500 companies like Coca-Cola, IBM and General Motors make more speeches in a year than most politicians do. And not just on television. They speak all the time in the workplace and to colleagues, customers and the media.

ON THE SCENE

Electoral Gothic

RICH LOWRY



Roberto Parada

THE busload of Dole supporters, just arrived from Russell, Kansas, stood blinking in the sun, looking a little stunned. None of them seemed under 65. Some wore crazy shirts with red-white-and-blue patterns along with their Dole buttons. One pointed out Norma Jean, Bob Dole's sister. As they puttered along in a pack, there was little doubt this crew has been, as Dole might put it, "tested." But shock troops in the completion of the "Second American Revolution"?

Maybe. Dole remains the candidate with the most advantages: universal name recognition, a (mostly) reassuring manner, big bucks. But the straw poll here, in which Dole pulled only 24 per cent in a dead heat with Phil Gramm, suggests an answer Washington's résumé conservatives and pack-oriented pundits haven't contemplated for months: Maybe not.

As a piece of participatory democracy or even a sampling of sentiment among Iowa Republicans, the straw poll was

deeply flawed. Anyone from anywhere with a \$25 ticket could vote, making the poll in many ways a contest over who could spend the money to haul in out-of-state supporters. California Governor Pete Wilson—afforded the luxury of virtue, thanks to his dismal lack of organization—set up signposts to let out-of-staters know where they were in relation to their home towns: Russell (Dole), Dallas (Gramm), Nashville (Alexander), etc.

The personification of the straw poll's fraudulent side was Morry Taylor, a would-be Ross Perot from Illinois, who brought his company's employees with him in a dozen tour buses (others arrived on motorcycles). At around 1 P.M. a huge Miller Genuine Draft truck was parked beside his tent, fueling up the kegs. Later, inside the coliseum, a Taylor supporter paused from screaming "Hey, Morry!" at an empty stage to tell me—beer on his breath—that his boss was qualified to be President because he hadn't laid anyone off in 12 years. An hour or so later Taylor promised to lay off one-third of the federal work-force.

Taylor finished sixth, ahead of Dick Lugar, Pete Wilson, Bob Dornan, and Arlen Specter. So, in Ames, money could buy you love. But it wasn't necessary. One of the better spectacles here came as dirt-poor candidates Alan Keyes and Pat Buchanan led their troops into the coliseum. Keyes walked with his family in front of a procession singing "America the Beautiful." The scene became a tad surreal when this earnest crowd marched by the big inflated corn cob and the Blues Brothers impersonators enlisted by the Lugar campaign.

A few minutes later came Buchanan, buzzing along in a golf cart, wearing a silly straw campaign hat, his press secretary standing in back. Behind him a throng in red Buchanan caps, like a

right-wing version of the Red Guard, pushed him along with chants of "Go, Pat, go!" Buchanan supporters crammed a second-story walkway into the coliseum and the ground below. The golf cart paused long enough for Buchanan to stand and give a Nixonesque two thumbs up to his two-tiered audience. He jumped out to shake hands with a few adoring fans, then zipped away again, a call of "Keep up the revolution, Pat!" ringing behind him. No wonder he left *Crossfire*.

Dole gave the first speech Saturday night, in many respects a rehash of his Hollywood speech. He emphasized personal responsibility and community values, and promised to "reconnect our government to our values." Beltway pundits were enthralled with this message when Dole adopted it this spring. But standing in the midst of 10,000 GOP activists in Iowa it seems less impressive: Who, short of Arlen Specter, *wouldn't* give a conservative speech to this crowd?

And the only line Dole won't contradict away from the teleprompter is the least compelling: "I have the experience, and I know the way." That's the line you hear repeated by Dole supporters, most of whom roosted in the second-tier seats, having been outthrustled by the Gramm, Buchanan, and even Taylor operations for the prime real estate.

If Dole's shtik didn't travel well, Gramm's benefited from the change of scene. The Gramm supporters here weren't sophisticated enough to think the Texas senator is already passé. The idea that Phil Gramm is a budget-cutter in sync with the new GOP still has currency in the heartland.

But one look at the sumptuous Gramm spread before the straw poll took place belied the contention that his campaign was just about ideas. Gramm had to finish well here, and poured several hundred thousand dollars into making it happen. Buchanan can make the more convincing case that his strong finish was driven by message, a message that differs starkly from those of other Republican candidates, save perhaps Keyes (Keyes's vote plus Buchanan's makes a winning plurality).

The difference from Gramm was dramatized by the Iowa meatpacking company IBP. Gramm's wife sits on the board, and IBP turned out bodies for Gramm. Buchanan, no fan of corporate America, trashed the company: "Look at what is happening at the IBP plant in Storm Lake. The illegal aliens are com-

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.



Best of Times.

Common sense is prevailing in America. New ideas about traditional values are taking hold. And America is getting the message—thanks to The Washington Times National Weekly Edition. This is the very best of The Washington Times, the newspaper that stood for years as the lone voice bold enough to cut through the liberal, mass-media smokescreen. Now you can hear that voice each week as it defines the culture of the new American mainstream. Sign up now for The Washington Times National Weekly Edition. For America, the best of times is just beginning. **Subscribe to common sense.**

☐ **ABSOLUTELY. Send me Washington's hottest read for just 77¢ per issue.***

Get your own direct line to Washington's people in power—free!

Every 1- and 2-year prepaid subscription comes with your personal copy of Capital Contacts, a 190-page spiral-bound guidebook that lists fax and phone numbers for every member and key staffer in Congress, major government agencies, top White House officials and much more.



Call today or clip and mail this coupon to The Washington Times National Weekly Edition.

(Please print.) ☐ *2 YEARS for only \$79.95 ☐ 1 YEAR \$59.95 ☐ 6 months \$34.95

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

Phone: () _____

Please Check One: ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ Discover ☐ American Express
☐ Check/Money Order Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

Credit Card #: _____

Exp. Date: _____

Signature: _____

Make checks payable to: The Washington Times National Weekly Edition, PO Box 96601, Washington, DC 20090

For Lightning Response 24 Hours A Day, Call 1-800-363-9118.

Please mention your express code



UJABAA

ing in and . . . driving down the wages of working Iowans." Buchanan pounded abortion. He took gut-wrenching jabs at the "global institutions of the New World Order." In a line he could have lifted from Tom Harkin ten years ago, Buchanan lamented that "We are cutting programs for veterans, for the elderly, for the poor, for farmers. Then we're turning around and giving away America's wealth to countries all over the world."

It all played well. The only bad moment came at the end, when the microphone was cut off after the allotted time

and Buchanan delivered his final lines silently, his emphatic gestures, shorn of their accompanying jack-hammer words, distilled into a kind of impotent fury. Assuming Buchanan has too many obstacles to win the nomination, the question becomes how much of his message leaches into that of the other candidates. In the context of welfare reform, Gramm has added an immigration line: "I want to stop inviting people to come to America with their hands out." Will we soon hear a "New World Order" speech from Bob Dole? Maybe. All he needs, after all, is a teleprompter. □

Fundamental Problem

MARTIN AROSTEGUI



ALGERIA no longer exists!" proclaims a bearded Muslim guerrilla manning a roadblock just five miles from the frontier with Morocco, which is officially closed. He has just examined our passports and is pointing his Kalashnikov rifle at us with one hand, gesturing at us with the other to head back. "They usually don't shoot foreigners," says the Moroccan riding with me as we quickly shift into reverse, "But if they stop an Algerian, they may give him the choice of joining their movement or being killed on the spot."

The brutal civil war in Algeria, which has cost over 40,000 lives and some \$2 billion in economic losses, threatens to spill over into the rest of the Maghreb

region of northwest Africa. Already, the guerrillas, trained in the Sudan in camps financed by Iran, roam at will through much of Algeria, infiltrating through routes provided by Libya. And Islamic terrorism is beginning to trickle into Europe; Algerian-connected armed cells have been broken up in Germany, Belgium, and Spain. In France, where the immigrant Arab population has reached two million, mosques are systematically placed under surveillance. In several French cities, Muslim preachers are followed by plainclothes agents. One officer of the National Gendarmerie points to a drab apartment block in a working-class suburb of Paris. It is inhabited by Algerians, and he says, "To us it's an enemy fortress."

French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua almost openly favors aiding Algeria's unsavory military government in its war against terrorism. In Algeria, secular intellectuals, journalists, and other educated segments of the population are systematically killed by Islamic terrorists. Five hundred registered Algerian journalists have been forced to leave the country, and many of those who remain live inside a high-security military compound. Homes with satellite dishes, a telltale sign of affluence and social status, are targeted with extortion demands and assassination threats. Apartment blocks housing military families are blown up with car bombs, and teen-aged girls refusing to wear the traditional veil get their throats cut.

Facing an insurgency of an intensity that members of Algeria's arrogant bureaucratic class admit they never ex-

pected, the army has recently redoubled efforts to contain the terrorists. "The eradication program has begun," says a French diplomat with long experience in the region. Whole villages are simply razed with artillery and French-supplied helicopter gunships. During midnight operations in suspect neighborhoods, blackhooded teams of special forces, the ninjas, round up all able-bodied young men. Lines of cadavers appear in surrounding empty lots the next day. Some of the ninjas grow beards and dress up as Islamic fighters, setting up roadblocks to trap guerrilla sympathizers.

"What is happening in Algeria is so violent that it's a kind of vaccination for us," says Tayeb Ben Chikh, Morocco's former minister of planning. He expresses the belief of most Moroccans that Algeria's politico-religious self-immolation will not spread to the Maghreb's second-largest country, from which one can see the southern tip of Europe across the Straits of Gibraltar.

Ben Chikh points to economic differences. The Moroccan government has followed free-market policies, encouraging private-sector investment, particularly in agriculture. Such measures as exempting farmers from taxation have discouraged large-scale migration to the cities. Algeria's centrally managed industrialization program, on the other hand, created large concentrations of unemployed youngsters whose frustrations have turned into fuel for radical Islam. Morocco's policies of deregulating prices and cutting public deficits resulted in GDP growth that topped 12 per cent in 1994. Algeria's socialist economy, meanwhile, has been steadily declining.

Furthermore, Morocco is led by King Hassan II, who, far from being an enemy of Islam, is among its most respected leaders. Among the Arab world's longest-reigning monarchs, Hassan is the only one who can claim direct ancestry from Mohammed through the Great Prophet's only daughter, Fatima. "For Islam he is the closest thing there is to a Pope," says a former cabinet minister. "King Hassan was given a modern French education," he explains. "But at the same time he was deeply schooled in the Koran and Muslim religion. He is capable of holding theological debates with the most fundamentalist clergymen." Even Iran's fire-breathing ayatollahs recognize Hassan's leadership of the World Islamic Conference.

The 68-year-old Hassan has an un-

Mr. Arostegui writes frequently on international terrorism.

HERE ARE SEVEN REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT A MORATORIUM ON IMMIGRATION

- 1 WE'RE FULL NOW.** We are living through the greatest sustained wave of immigration in American history. Why? The Census Bureau says that current immigration trends will increase our population to nearly 400 million by 2050 and 70 percent of the increase will be due to immigration. That's 130 million more people than are here today.
- 2 THE SYSTEM'S OVERLOADED.** There are nearly four million people waiting in line to enter. The latest wave of new citizen naturalizations will generate millions more new relative petitions. System overload has caused the immigration enforcement arm of the Federal government to nearly collapse while too many people enter too fast, and backlogs grow exponentially. We need a break.
- 3 WE NEED TIME TO ASSIMILATE.** Throughout American history, the country has had sustained periods of low or negligible immigration. These periodic lulls enabled the country to absorb and assimilate those who had come before. Remember how the turn-of-the-century immigrant ghettos of our large northern cities melted away into the American mainstream during the low-immigration years leading up to 1965? We need another sustained lull now.
- 4 A DECLINING STANDARD OF LIVING.** Immigration trends are troubling. Immigrants today are less skilled, less educated, and more likely to use welfare (1990 Census). Recent studies show that immigrants are far more likely than citizens to be on welfare, live in poverty, get the Earned Income Tax Credit, be in prison, work without health insurance, and live in overcrowded housing conditions. New data from the General Accounting Office reveal that immigrants are now using federal welfare programs like SSI and AFDC at skyrocketing rates.
- 5 LABOR MARKET.** Immigrants are entering the country without regard to our changing labor needs. This means an increased supply of low skilled labor and heightened competition in many labor sectors; the resulting wage depression is increasing the gap between rich and poor in the highest immigrant-receiving communities.
- 6 THE PEOPLE WANT AN IMMIGRATION MORATORIUM.** Polls show an overwhelming majority of the American people want a lot less immigration or even an immigration moratorium. (Roper Poll, May 1992; Latino National Political Survey, December 1992). These are persistent results over time. Most of the people cannot be wrong all the time!
- 7 THE SYSTEM'S BROKEN.** The current system breeds lawlessness. Thousands of illegal immigrants enter the country every day—two to three million a year. Fake documents are easily obtained, providing access to welfare and benefits meant for citizens and legal residents.

Think about it.

We're FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform): a national, public educational organization working to stop illegal immigration and limit legal immigration. It's time for you to get involved. Make a difference in America's future.

For more information call: 800-395-0890

FAIR

Enroll me as a member of FAIR.

I want to be a:

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Sponsoring Member (\$100) | ☐ Please send me |
| ☐ Sustaining Member (\$50) | more informa- |
| ☐ Member (\$25) | tion about FAIR. |

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please include a check or money order and send to:

**FAIR, 1666 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20009**

Gifts to FAIR are tax deductible.

NR 9/95

canny ability to balance opposing forces, and most Moroccans believe in the King's *baraka*, a form of luck or holy blessing credited with his surviving several attempts against his life. He had a truly miraculous escape in 1972 when three Moroccan Air Force fighter jets fired on his royal Boeing. They failed to shoot it down, and he landed safely as the airport runway was being bombed; he promptly drove back to his palace and dismantled the coup effort.

As the cauldron of radical fundamentalism begins bubbling beneath Morocco's tranquil surface, the king's special powers are being tested again. The number of unofficial Islamic organizations, operating through independent or underground mosques, has more than doubled during the past few years to at least seventy. Their adherents expound a violent and radical kind of Islam, the opposite of the religious moderation and tolerance Hassan tries to foster.

In a Moroccan newspaper these days, a woman doctor and a Muslim preacher can openly debate the merits of female orgasm. Government-approved plays and TV soap operas depict Islamic religion as a banal part of everyday life. But Islamic radicals are now in control of the Moroccan National Students' Union. At the fundamentalist-controlled University of Oujda on the border with Algeria, stricter religious codes are now enforced. There, unlike in the rest of Morocco, a majority of women wear veils, and many students profess sympathy for the Algerian guerrillas.

Hassan's main challenge is preventing an independent Islamic party from developing as he negotiates constitutional changes with the traditional opposition groups to allow for more representative government. He is encouraging established left-wing parties like the Socialist Union of Popular Forces and the populist Istiklal to incorporate Islamic militants into their ranks in order to defuse an organized fundamentalist challenge. The threat to Hassan's religious authority is taken seriously enough to cause the recent detention of a dissident cleric who refuses to conduct prayers in the King's name. The Imam Yassine, who sermonizes about the "Westernized debauchery" of Moroccan society, is now under house arrest.

For fear of alienating his own Islamic fundamentalists, Hassan refuses to close ranks with other governments seeking to coordinate policies against radical fundamentalism. Morocco didn't send

representatives to a meeting of European and Maghreb security ministers that France tried to organize in Tunisia last February. Hassan strongly criticized NATO's Secretary General Willy Claes, who called Islamic fundamentalism a "new threat to European security" after the Algerian Armed Islamic Group hijacked a French jet last Christmas.

Morocco itself was the target last year of coordinated attacks by Islamic militants. Two European tourists were murdered in Marrakesh, and one terrorist was caught with a submachine gun preparing to attack a synagogue. It was only through the last-minute discovery of a major arms cache in an abandoned farm that Moroccan authorities prevented an assault on the wedding celebrations of the King's only daughter in the ancient Medina of Fez.

But evidence of local support from underground cells of Moroccan sympathizers has been covered up by Moroccan officials, who openly speculate that the effort to destabilize Morocco was actually set up by Algerian military secret services.

"Hassan may ultimately have to acquiesce to a stricter Islamic culture in Morocco," says a veteran politician in Rabat, "but he will arrange it so that the pertinent legislation gets introduced by established parties. His strategy will be to adapt to religious pressures and try to ride the wave of radical Islam." It is a measured strategy in a region where moderation is becoming scarce.

For now at least, Morocco remains an oasis of relative calm. If it went radical, the Straits of Gibraltar would look narrow indeed. □

Honor Your Father

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

CHICAGO
JUST a day after the close of the Taste of Chicago earlier this summer, a week-long festival at which 3 million people consumed \$11 million worth of food at 67 restaurant concessions representing 23 ethnic groups—the day after all that, the feeding and grazing areas in Grant Park and along Columbus Drive were clean enough, well, to eat from.

In fact, Chicago's Streets and Sanitation workers have performed heroically throughout the spring and summer. Daley Plaza, Navy Pier, the infamous Pedway, even lower Wacker, where the rats feed and the homeless dwell in their refrigerator boxes—the city is getting a scrubbing and a facelift.

Why? Usually, urban refurbishing has something to do with impending elections. But that's not it. This spring, Mayor Richard M. Daley easily won another four-year term, flattening a tired independent black candidate and a Republican challenger who works professionally as Sparky the Clown and between engagements sweeps out a barber shop for pocket money.

In fact, despite momentary doubts generated by July's extraordinary heat

wave, Mayor Daley's political stock has never been higher. In the city, he points out, property-tax increases have been less than 5 per cent over six years, and taxes on businesses are being cut by \$17 million. He has also added over 1,000 officers to the city police force, while trimming other departments.

When he took over in 1989, the city was running a deficit, which turned into a surplus at the end of Daley's first term. Today, says the mayor, "Chicago is the only city in the top ten to have its bond rating increased by Standard & Poor's in the current decade."

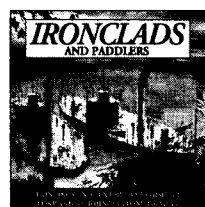
True, with the Republican takeover in Springfield last year, Daley has had to back off several major projects—a land-based casino/entertainment complex, for instance, and a \$775-million downtown trolley system.

However, in other areas, Daley continues to hold his own. With the legislature apparently on the verge of taking over O'Hare Airport, one of the City of Chicago's crown jewels, Daley formed overnight a Gary-Chicago airport compact with the mayor of Gary, Indiana, thus precluding any immediate takeover attempt. The governor intends to appeal. But in the meantime, O'Hare remains in Daley's hands, and, against all odds, Daley has undertaken what increasingly appears to be a successful reformation of Chicago's school system.

Mr. Coyne, who wrote speeches for President Nixon and Vice President Agnew, works for a major corporation in Chicago.

AT EASE*

(*definition: ordering the books you want from
THE MILITARY BOOK CLUB®)



1636-9999*

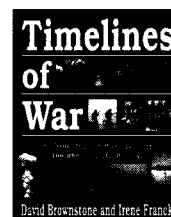
\$34.95



8062

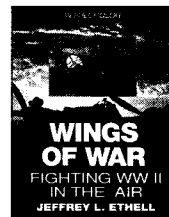
\$27.95

**TAKE
4 FOR 98¢
WITH MEMBERSHIP**



0877

\$29.95



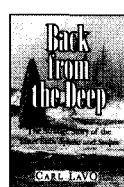
1305-9999*

\$39.95



1396

\$27.50

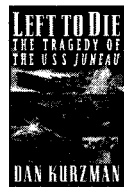


1032

\$27.95



3830-9999* \$29.95



0281

\$23.00



0794

\$32.95



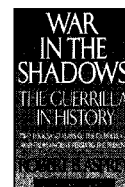
2428

\$24.95



0885

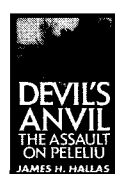
\$30.00



0042-9999* \$40.00



2303+ \$12.95x



0265

\$27.50



1560

\$12.95x



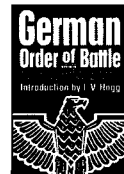
0687

\$29.95



0307

\$30.00



0802-9999*

\$34.95



1362

\$29.95



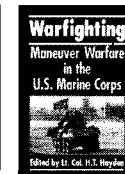
1255

\$24.95



0620

\$32.95



1479

\$29.95



5652

\$17.50



1461

\$24.95



0976

\$12.95x



0273

\$12.95x



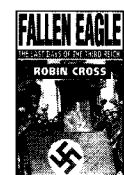
1404

\$22.95



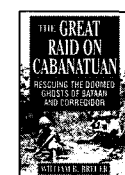
3004

\$12.95x



1511

\$27.50



1263

\$27.95



4481

\$27.95



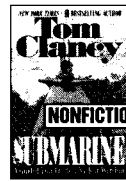
0109

\$22.95



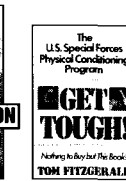
0174

\$24.95



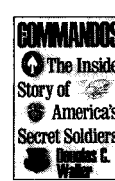
3475

\$16.95x



3988+

\$9.95x



2279

\$23.00



0216

\$29.95



8219+

\$9.95x



1024++

\$23.00



1222

\$29.95



1123

\$25.00



1172

\$25.00



1578

\$12.95x

HERE'S WHAT YOU GET WHEN YOU JOIN...

A GUARANTEE OF SATISFACTION. Once your membership's accepted, we'll send your 4 BOOKS. If you're dissatisfied with the books, return them within 10 days at our expense. Membership will be canceled; you'll owe nothing.

THE FREE CLUB MAGAZINE. You'll receive up to 16 issues a year. Each reviews the Featured Book Selection(s) plus dozens of alternate books.

SHOPPING MADE SIMPLE. To get the Featured Book Selection(s), do nothing—it will be sent automatically. If you prefer another book—or none at all—return your Member Reply Form by the specified date. A shipping and handling charge (and sales tax, where applicable) is added to each order.

HUGE DISCOUNTS ON HARDCOVER BOOKS. Save as much as 30% off publishers' edition prices. Club books are sometimes altered in size to fit special presses.

AN EASY-TO-MEET OBLIGATION. Take up to 2 years to buy 4 more books at regular low Club prices. Afterwards, you may resign membership anytime.

RISK-FREE RETURN PRIVILEGES. If you get an unwanted book because your Club magazine was delayed and you had less than 10 days to respond, simply return the book at our expense.

Prices shown are for publishers' hardcover editions.
Club hardcover editions save you up to 30%.

* Counts as 2 choices x Special edition exclusively for Club members + Softcover ++ Fiction

THE MILITARY BOOK CLUB®

Your #1 Source for Military Books

MAIL TO: The Military Book Club
6550 East 30th Street
P.O. Box 6357
Indianapolis, IN
46206-6357

Please write book numbers here:

YES! Please enroll me in *The Military Book Club* according to the risk-free membership plan described in this ad. Send me the 4 BOOKS I've indicated. Bill me just 98¢, plus shipping and handling.

SAVE EVEN MORE! Send me this book now and reduce my commitment to 3 books. Bill me an added \$3.99, plus shipping and handling. Books that count as 2 choices are not eligible.

(write book number)
67518 41

42

If you select a book that counts as 2 choices, write the first 4 digits of the book number in one row of boxes and 9999 in the next.

Mr./Mrs.

Miss/Ms.

(please print)

Address

Apt.

City

State

Zip

Members accepted in U.S.A. only. Sales tax added where applicable. We reserve the right to reject any application.

NAR 9/1/95

The mayor also points with pride to the construction of the United Center, the new sports and convention complex where in August 1996 the Democratic National Convention will be held.

It is this convention next year, many here believe, more than anything happening this year, that has the mayor preoccupied with the face of his city, what he continually refers to as its "quality of life," and, ultimately, its national reputation, his reputation as a mayor, and the reputation of his family.

As the incoming president of the U.S. conference of mayors, Daley will be the primary spokesman for the nation's cities and their problems. As mayor of Chicago, he will be host for President Clinton's renomination ritual. And as the son of Richard J. Daley, he will be positioned to erase the most visible stain on the family escutcheon. As Thomas Hardy of the *Chicago Tribune* puts it, the convention will allow "the city and Daley to finally confront a ghost that has haunted the place and his family since the infamous Democratic Debacle of 1968."

At the time of that convention, Richard M. Daley was 26 years old, about the same age as many of the people rioting in Grant Park and on Michigan Avenue. ("Those were our kids being beaten by police in the streets of Chicago," said one commentator. "The police in the streets of Chicago were also our kids," responded another.)

Richard M. Daley stood with his father on the floor of that convention, as Richard J. Daley shouted at Senator Ribicoff, the TV cameras recording the mouthing of words that will never be forgotten. To this day, he has never spoken publicly about what he thought and felt during those days of rage, when a political party and the politics of a generation were skewed beyond recognition—and when his father and the city he personified became a symbol of intolerance and repression.

He doesn't talk about it; when he is asked about those days in 1968, he refers vaguely to Vietnam and the temper of the times. He refuses to blame the protestors, and, of course, he never criticizes his father. Like his father, he is the quintessential family man, displaying emotions other than anger in public only when family is involved.

He lives a personal life of probity and rectitude, as his father did. When he's enjoying himself—at Kitty O'Shea's Tavern on St. Patrick's Day, for in-

stance—he laughs heartily and without that peculiar giggle that punctuates his public pronouncements at odd moments, usually when he is deep into that unique Chicago garglespeak variation of Rustbelt lingua franca. He likes good conversation and good jokes.

He also honors his father by governing in much the same way. Daley's aides talk of his "drive-by jottings"—notes that he makes on things that he sees while driving through the city. As was the case with his father, they say, those notes are always translated into directives, which are always followed up on. "He runs the city," says one, "like a good plant manager." So did his father. And like his father he looks on all Chicagoans as family. During the heat wave



Roberto Parada

his frequently transmitted message was: "Call your mother."

There are also distinct differences, of course, given social, political, and demographic changes. But as one political figure here puts it, Richard M. Daley is a child of the Machine who has grown into a modern politician practicing what Paul M. Green of Governors State University calls "racially non-divisive, management-oriented politics."

This is especially important in terms of Lake Shore liberal support, which he has won, and black support, which he continues to gain incrementally with each election. Black voters don't necessarily love him, but the dwindling appeal of black candidates who run solely on the basis of race suggests that at least in Chicago, race-based politics, in and of itself, is no longer a growth industry.

In fact, although the media focus on crime, drugs, welfare, and homelessness when they discuss blacks and their problems here, the reality is that there is a

large, growing, and increasingly prosperous black middle class in Chicago whose members want the basics of decent city living provided and have little patience for the activist politics of increasingly gang-related militant groups.

As the convention nears, there will no doubt be attempts made to stir the cauldron. One possibility involves public housing. On June 26, in response to the HUD takeover of the scandal-ridden Chicago Housing Authority, a thousand protestors chanting "It's Nation Time" marched through the Loop, disrupting traffic, frightening pedestrians, and bringing out extra squads of police. The march tied things up for about two hours before finally fizzling out.

The purpose of the march, as well as could be determined, was "to save people's homes." But HUD's admittedly murky plans seem to be to tear down substandard housing and relocate people into better homes. No matter. As one of the march's organizers put it, the whole thing was not about saving our slums but about "respect."

Given the absence of a sea of discontent, their demonstrations probably won't be large enough in 1996 to be trauma-inducing. But never underestimate the power of the camera. Richard M. Daley doesn't. When pressed about who was ultimately most to blame for the 1968 disaster and the great stain on his father's record and reputation, he will say, "It was the media."

And this time round, the media will be there in force—at least 15,000 reporters and commentators, looking for the obvious Son of Himself, Convention Nominates Heir to Chicago 7, Legacy, Police Riot Again sort of story. As Leslie Fox, executive director of the host convention committee puts it, for those four days in August, "The focus of the world will be on Chicago."

And it will be equally on the man who like his father has come to personify Chicago. "His personal and governing lifestyle have merged," writes Paul Green, "making him not only the city's mayor but its symbol of stability."

The same was true of his father, until the 1968 convention. In 1996, Richard M. Daley hopes to refurbish that symbol and restore that stability in the eyes of the world, and do so in a way that does honor to his city, his career, and ultimately, to his father. Like the Cubs, the Bulls, the Blackhawks, and probably the Bears, in 1995 the Mayor is preparing for next year. □

GEKKO

IT'S tough being a goldbug. You keep thinking you're about to turn into a Monarch butterfly, and then the price gets slammed again and people talk about you as if you're some kind of cockroach. Even technical analysts who can make any market sound like it's about to turn around aren't much help.

But Frank Veneroso and his loyalists haven't given up. Too many goldbugs, in my experience, spend their time reminiscing fondly about oil embargoes, President Carter, and their net worth in 1980.

Veneroso & Co., on the other hand, actually go out and count the flows of gold sellers and buyers. Tedious work, but it's the only way to get to the bottom of what has been a very weird market over the past three years.

In Frank's view, "A big hand is over the gold market. For the past two years, whenever the gold price penetrates \$390 an ounce, large sellers have come into the market. I assume that represents one or more central banks liquidating their holdings."

Now I admit that for a long time I had a problem with what sounded to me like a conspiracy. But Frank's documentation of the supply-demand balance in gold turns out to be very compelling. What you find when you tear apart the statistics is a big increase in the demand coming from the Far East, both from hoarders and from jewelers. According to Veneroso, the standard data on gold demand, which is distributed by the World Gold Council and Gold Fields Mineral Services, has consistently underestimated that demand. For example, the World Gold Council figures that the 1.2 billion people in China imported 224 metric tons of gold in 1994. Chinese sources that Veneroso has found put the country's imports somewhere north of 800 tons.

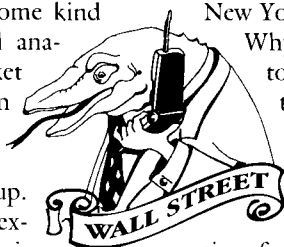
But the sellers are even more mysterious. Working from the U.S. trade data on gold imports and ex-

ports, Veneroso shows that "There is a flow of about 40 tons a month from the U.S., most of which is coming from the foreign central-bank holdings at the New York Federal Reserve Bank."

Why would central banks want to dump their gold? One of the most credible explanations would be the drive among European central banks to harmonize their reserve policies in preparation for European Monetary Union. The Bundesbank carries about 31 per cent of its foreign-exchange reserves in gold; if the French and Italian central banks spent the past two years bringing their gold holdings to that proportion, it would account for about 1,700 tons of gold selling. That mops up a lot of demand from nouveau-riche Chinese.

So when will the goldbugs' luck change? John Brimelow of BV Capital, who deals in gold stocks, points out that "Since the bounce up in the yen, there is a lot of evidence that the Japanese public is buying gold futures. The yen price of gold has broken a 15-year downtrend in the market."

It would figure that the central banks would conclude a gold-selling program just as the price turns.



"I see you making the Fortune 500...
Whoops, make that the Indy 500!"

■ The *New York Times* never disappoints. Just as it notices a trend, you can count on it to start slowing or reversing. In mid June, the *Times* finally took notice of the offshore-banking business in Cyprus, with a story titled "Cyprus Shores Wash Dirty Money." The *Times* correspondent noticed that much of the money supporting the UN-embargoed Serbs is going through Cyprus, but added, "Money is also pouring into the island from Russian racketeers, sometimes in suitcases filled with hundreds of thousands of dollars, diplomats and bankers said."

"Did they really say that?" asked a Russian "businessman" I know. Cyprus has been not so hip as a place to put your money through for over a year now. "You go to Hungary, maybe. Cyprus is passé." This is apparently because the Cypriot authorities started to inform the Russian government, as well as the Americans, about Russian criminals' activities.

Cyprus does still have some attractions as a hot-sheet hotel for money, but like retired prostitutes throughout history, it's trying to clean things up. Still, one notices that the truly advanced part of Cypriot banks is their state-of-the-art wire-transfer capability. The portfolio-management services you find in even more settled, almost entirely straight, offshore centers such as Bermuda have not yet taken hold. In the end, of course, trying to trace dirty money is a losing game. But forget about Cyprus, now that the *Times* is onto it.

■ Have you been wondering why the Colombian establishment is finally cracking down (so to speak) on the cocaine trade? It took me aback, I have to say. Then oil-industry friends offered an explanation. One of the big surprises in the commodity and shipping worlds lately has been the sharply improved prospects for a major increase in Colombian oil production. If the country can become a first-rank oil power, then the *coqueros* become just a liability. The guerrillas and other thugs the coke lords support are bad for the oil business, what with their pipeline attacks and car bombings. So the cleanup may be a real one. The Colombian balance sheet, which is much cleaner than the country's rap sheet, can be kept healthy with black gold rather than white gold. —JOHN DIZARD

Why Stop at Term Limits?

Would the first 535 names in the phone book, or any other randomly selected group of people, be an improvement over our current representatives?

DAVID RAMSAY STEELE

THE worldwide triumph of democracy has been breathtakingly swift and thorough. We now confidently wait for the last few beleaguered outposts of one-party rule to run up the white flag and announce their dates for open parliamentary elections.

Yet, even as democracy is on the point of subjugating the entire planet, there are many indications of a profound alienation from actually existing democracy, especially in those countries which have long endured it. The more politicians fawn on the voters, the more the voters feel that politicians are unrepresentative, out of touch, and inaccessible. The term-limits movement is one response to this deep-seated frustration.

Most people now think of democracy as a system where a high proportion of adults are able to vote periodically, their votes are counted, and control of the government goes to those individuals who manage to attract a majority of the votes. This is *not* what democracy meant to the Athenians who invented the concept. It is not what democracy meant to political thinkers (mostly unfriendly to democracy, of course) from Plato to Montesquieu.

The classical conception leans heavily on the procedure known as election by lot, technically known as *sortition*. Under this procedure, holders of political offices are chosen by a purely random method from a list comparable to the present voters' roll. Any of us might find himself picked for a seat in Congress or on the local board of assessors, just as any of us might find himself picked for a seat on a jury.

With our increasing reliance upon pre-election opinion polls, several writers have suggested—some with their

tongues thrust more firmly into their cheeks than others—that we cut out the elections and simply use sample polls to decide which candidate wins. But election by lot goes further: we cut out the opinion polls too, and pick the winners directly from the eligible population.

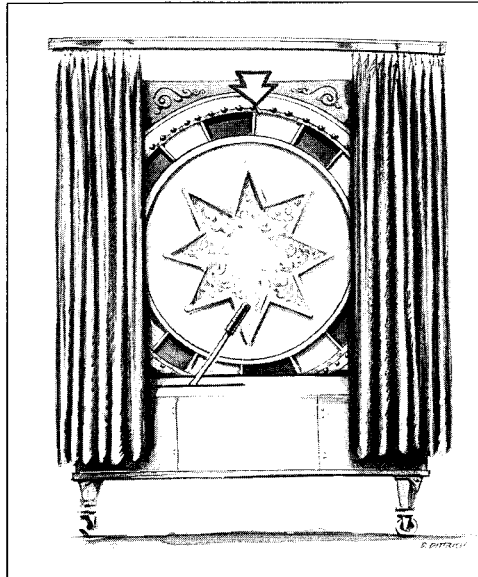
Election by lot could exist in piecemeal, supplementary form but, for the sake of clarity, let us think about it in a sweeping, wholesale fashion. There would cease to be any voting for seats in the Senate and House of Representatives. The people to fill those positions would be picked by lot from a list of all those eligible. This list could be similar to the present voters' roll, or it could be the sum of all present jury lists, or a list of all adult citizens.

The President could also be chosen in this way, directly by a lottery (as occurs in the classic science-fiction novel *Solar Lottery* by Philip K. Dick), but the specter of a demented psychopath taking control would doubtless be raised to scare people off this proposal. Actually I think the chance of such an outcome

would be more remote than the chance of the same kind of malevolent prodigy clawing his way to the top through vote-catching and political trading. But as a safeguard, the lottery could select the delegates to the Electoral College; in that case there would still be rival presidential candidates who would compete for office by attempting to attract Electoral College votes.

Election by lot shares some of the advantages of majority voting. Like voting, election by lot provides a system for removing our current rulers without violence, in a way that reflects evolving public opinion and is demonstrably even-handed and aboveboard.

Because of well-known statistical characteristics of large numbers, the views of members of Congress would correspond much more accurately with the views of the whole



Mr. Steele is the author of From Marx to Mises (Open Court) and a frequent contributor to Liberty.

NR West



Published in Conjunction with
The Claremont Institute

CONTENTS

Wilson's Gambit	page 1
West World	page 2
End of an Era?	page 4
Leave It To Beavers	page 6
Voucher Wars Revisited	page 7
West Coast Observer	page 8

NR West Editor / Douglas A. Jeffrey

Contributing Editors / Edward J. Erler

Christopher Flannery / Harold Johnson / Brian Kennedy

NR West/Claremont Institute
250 West First St., Suite 330
Claremont, CA 91711
Phone: 909-621-6825
Advertising / Dorothy Hoffberg

Wilson's Gambit

SIGFREDO A. CABRERA

IN the wake of the University of California Regents' decision to roll back affirmative action and his own executive order limiting the use of racial preferences in state government, Governor Pete Wilson went to court on August 10 and filed a go-for-the-jugular lawsuit against state-mandated discrimination. Brought before the state Court of Appeals in Sacramento and directed against his own administration and other state officers, Wilson's suit seeks to invalidate a number of state statutes that, without compelling reason, distinguish between citizens on the basis of race, ethnicity, and gender.

Specifically, the suit challenges state laws that (1) require the Chancellor and Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges to ensure the use of race and ethnicity as factors in hiring; (2) compel the State Personnel Board and other state agencies to discriminate in hiring in order to achieve a "racially proportional" work force; (3) force the State Treasurer to award bond

service contracts on the basis of race and gender rather than qualifications; (4) compel the State Lottery Commission and the Director of the California State Lottery to contract only with firms that subcontract with "socially and economically disadvantaged" business enterprises, i.e., businesses owned by women or persons of a specified race; and (5) forbid the Department of General Services from selecting contractors based on qualifications and the lowest bid, encouraging it instead to look at records of subcontracts awarded in terms of race and gender.

AS a practical matter, Wilson's strategy is essential to implementing this summer's Supreme Court ruling in *Adarand v. Peña*, that preferential treatment based on race must be judged under a "strict scrutiny" standard. In other words, federal racial classifications that subject citizens to unequal treatment are presumptively illegal. The government has the burden of proving with sufficient specificity that affirmative action programs are necessary and "narrowly tailored" to remedy proven *past acts* of discrimination. *Adarand* affirmed the high court's 1989 decision in *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson*, which imposed the same "strict scrutiny" standard on state and local governments. Under these rulings, government must identify the existence of discrimination before it may use race-conscious relief.

According to Anthony T. Caso, one of Wilson's lawyers, "Not one of the state statutes challenged in [Wilson's] action is based on specific findings of prior discrimination that would justify race, ethnic, or gender-conscious relief." Caso adds that many of the laws in question were enacted before the high court's recent pronouncements, and points out that California agencies are prohibited by the state constitution from refusing to enforce these discriminatory laws until an appellate court has made a determination of their unconstitutionality.

In short, the executive bureaucracy is impotent to adopt on its own a standard of equal opportunity; and at least for now, too many elected representatives are reluctant to challenge the status quo. So the final word must come from the courts.

President Clinton's reaction to *Adarand* stands in contrast to Wilson's. Clinton issued a directive to federal agencies to police themselves under the high court's revised standard. This enables the President to claim to favor reform, while in reality ensuring its prevention. After all, a huge sub-bureaucracy has evolved out of 25 years of affirmative action. This bureaucracy has its own rules, procedures, and personnel. It will never be dismantled from within, by those whose livelihoods depend on its continued existence.

In all likelihood, under President Clinton's directive, federal affirmative action programs will continue to be applied to situations without specific, provable cases of past bias. These applications will be insulated from con-

(Continues on page West-4)

WEST WORLD

■ Unconfirmed reports say Pete Wilson may be planning a visit to California.

■ Houseguest Kato Kaelin has signed a one-year contract to host a talk-radio show in Los Angeles. "I guess it's time to prove myself, to let the people know, heck, I've got a brain," he said. And he didn't waste any time starting. "It'll be like when buddies sit in an apartment and surf through the channels," he continued, "and comment on real life things, like dating, TV, movies." Our money's on Kato to outlast fellow numskull and talk-radio freshman Mario Cuomo.

■ As we go to press, the *Los Angeles Times* is reporting that John Walton and the American Education Reform Foundation have scuttled their plan to place a school voucher initiative on the California ballot in 1996 (see "Voucher Wars Revisited," page West-7). They are said to be considering a run in 1998.

■ A recent notice in Joe Farah's monthly conservative publication, *Inside California*, serves as a dramatic reminder of the need for vouchers. The California Teachers Association is opposing a bill introduced in the State Senate to authorize testing students on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as well as an Assembly bill to require schools to teach spelling. It is simultaneously supporting an Assembly bill, called the "parent's report card bill," which regulates parents. This perfectly illustrates the arrogant and topsy-turvy worldview of the liberal education establishment: classrooms are as sacrosanct as churches ever were, while taxpayers' families should be made into state laboratories. This is so out of touch with democracy that it's hard to believe the education bureaucrats and teachers unions can long retain their power.

■ Watch for Vice President Gore and other ecological-minded Easterners to start hanging more in Colorado, now that Maurice Strong—the visionary, you might recall, who presided over the much bally-hooded Rio Earth Summit a few years ago—has set up shop there. Strong's Baca Grande Ranch is complete with a Temple to the Sun God and even offers Vedic Earth Goddess worship. Retreats here will make the Renaissance Weekend look positively reactionary.

■ With the kids returning to college it is well to remind ourselves (and, most emphatically, them) that much of what passes for scholarship in the modern academy is properly looked on as an abomination.

For instance, Terry Castle, a professor of English at the elite Stanford University, has just published an article purporting that novelist Jane Austen carried on a longtime lesbian relationship with her sister. This on the heels of a publication by the Los Angeles Unified School District's Gay and Lesbian Commission (yes, you heard us right!)—based on a book by University of Massachusetts professor Charles Shively—which claims that Abraham Lincoln had homosexual relations with his friend Joshua Speed. Does it occur to anyone else that it is ultimately within the taxpayers' and/or alumni-donors' power to purge our schools of the intellectual criminals responsible for such rubbish? Let them make their livings writing screenplays for Oliver Stone.

■ The annual Rose Festival in Portland, Oregon, is said to get higher ratings than the Super Bowl. Many local great-grandmothers remember who was selected Rose Festival Queen—and who wasn't—among the Portland senior high school girls of the 1930s and 40s. People still regret the need to cancel the Grand Floral Parade in 1918 and 1942 because of World Wars I and II, and speak with quiet pride about wearing dust masks to the 1980 parade because of the eruption of nearby Mt. St. Helens. For more than fifty years, the Portland Rose Festival Association has given college scholarships to the Rose Queen and members of her court; junior queens were selected from among the younger girls. But now the Panjandrums of Political Correctness have taken the bloom off the Rose. Beginning in 1997, there will no longer be any junior queens selected, and boys must henceforth be included in the Senior Court. Why? The Rose Festival is said to be at once degrading to women and discriminatory against men. Portlanders must neither let their little girls be subjected to degradation and exploitation, nor deny their senior boys the right to degrade themselves equally with the senior girls. As a matter of historical fact, when Portland's Rose Festival was inaugurated by a group of businessmen in 1907, the grand event was ruled by a king whose identity was kept secret until the annual ball. The great king was dubbed Rex Oregonus. There are Portlanders now who—to paraphrase

NEW! FROM THE Barbara Boxer Designer Collection!

**MATCH THE FEMINIST
APPROVED TIE WITH
THE POLITICIAN!!**

A. TED KENNEDY
B. BOB PACKWOOD
C. HENRY CISNEROS
D. BILL CLINTON



Lincoln—urge a return to the old ways, when they could have their degradation pure, without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

■ Our Gall-of-the-Month Award goes to the group of Colorado inmates who have filed a federal class action lawsuit seeking \$17 million from Colorado state agencies for attempting to transfer them to Texas prisons in order to relieve overcrowded Colorado prisons. Our advice of the month goes to Colorado: look into what makes Texas prisons less agreeable, then build a bunch.

■ If Hollywood has been doing any soul searching following recent criticism by Bob Dole and others, it has apparently drawn a blank. With the “groundbreaking” MGM movie *Showgirls* and CBS series *Central Park West* being unveiled in September—“groundbreaking” meant in terms of nudity and sexuality—and the continued release of “gangsta” rap albums, such as last month’s *Dogg Pound*, by Time Warner and others, it is difficult even to imagine that change is afoot. But the *Los Angeles Times* cites a “chill” which has come over the Hollywood elite. Their main source for this was, predictably, director Oliver Stone: “Dole isn’t proposing censorship or passing legislation, but then neither did McCarthy. By creating a climate of paranoia, they create a chilling effect. . . . Dole’s poison is working.” We wish.

■ The best known resident of Vacaville, California—home of Vacaville State Penitentiary—has cut a new album of self-composed songs and monologues. Five thousand copies of Charles Manson’s CD *Commemoration* are now available for a pretty reasonable \$16 each, from a company called White Devil, Inc. We have no doubt there are executives at Time Warner who are kicking themselves for letting this one get away.

■ While liberal America sated itself with self-loathing to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Hiroshima, tourism remained lively at Ft. Stevens, Oregon. There, a lot of normal, healthy looking families clamber over the massive, long-abandoned concrete bunkers and gun emplacements erected on the coast just south of the Columbia River. Late in the night of June 21, 1942, the Japanese Submarine I-25 surfaced off Ft. Stevens’s Battery Russell. According to records of the Japanese War History Office, the I-25 fired 17 rounds at the fort beginning at 11 P.M. It did no serious damage and caused no casualties. None of the American batteries returned fire—the submarine was thought to be beyond their range—but troops were reported to be eager to engage. Soldiers at Battery Russell made a sign the next day: “First fort attacked on Continental United States / 9 shots fired 9 shots missed / To hell with you Hirohito / June 21, 1942.” A wholly appropriate sentiment under the circumstances. Ft. Stevens claims the distinction of being the only military installation in CONUS to have been fired on by an enemy since the War of 1812, and now it and the other “Cape forts” are state parks where young children frolic in safety: si vis pacem para bellum.

■ The Alaska Department of Fish and Game has announced that it will not reduce the 230,000-fish cap on chinook salmon that may be caught by Alaska’s commercial and sport fishermen off the state’s southeastern coast. Canada had insisted that this cap is twice what it should be, and threatened to act if the cap was not reduced. The Canadian fisheries minister never specified what form this punitive action might take, but one option reportedly being considered is lengthening the Canadian national anthem being played at all remaining Expos and Blue Jays games in the lower 48.

■ In what is perhaps the opening salvo of a tit-for-tat War on the East, John Howard—a San Diego-based attorney, president of the Individual Rights Foundation, and *National Review West* contributor—has petitioned the Department of the Interior and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to list as endangered an Eastern coyote species (*Canus latrans*) which is native to the Central Park, Brooklyn, and Bronx areas of New York City. Howard explained that the idea occurred to him “in light of the huge number of federal agents assigned to find out who killed the Idaho wolf” and federal plans to reintroduce the wolf to that state. “Accordingly, I have petitioned the Interior Department to take immediate steps to ensure the continued viability of the New York coyote. At a minimum I suggested that they needed to take immediate steps to preserve their critical habitat by closing the area and surrounding radius to pedestrian and vehicular traffic since the disruption clearly had an impact on the coyotes’ sense of well being and willingness to reproduce.”

■ Could you believe your eyes on your family vacation this summer? Taking its cue perhaps from Turner Broadcasting, it seems the U.S. Forest Service has been “colorizing” rocks along scenic highways. Rocks that don’t appear “natural” enough are sprayed with a mixture of iron and manganese. Congressman Jack Metcalf (R., Wash.) discovered plans to “colorize” some rocks in his state’s Cascade Mountains to the tune of as much as \$37,000. (Is this country affluent or what?) Due to Metcalf’s protests, this particular project has been put on hold for 12 months, at which time it will be determined if the rocks have come on their own to look sufficiently natural.

■ Self-described “Generation-X conservatives” have launched a publication, the *Bay City Current*, to be distributed free in the greater San Francisco area. Interested writers or readers of any generation may contact the *Current*’s editors at P.O. Box 16707, San Francisco, CA 94116.

■ Okay, Kevin Costner hasn’t exactly been on a roll lately, and the budget-busting *Waterworld* may bring Universal Pictures to its knees. But inside reports are that he’s already shopping a new idea: a record-length miniseries presenting a realistic reenactment of the O.J. Simpson trial. Any takers?

■ The GOP may move the finale of next year’s convention in San Diego to the 40,000 seat Jack Murphy Stadium, if Democrats continue to defect from their party at the current rate.

CABRERA

(Continued from page West-1)

stitutional attack with the same tactic used on the state level since the 1989 Croson decision: the use of "disparity studies" to fish for and conjure up discrimination.

George R. LaNoue, of the University of Maryland, noted in a 1993 report: "No matter how poorly done, a several-hundred page disparity study 'proving discrimination' will quiet critics in the political

and business community just by its existence." The maze of charts, graphs, and accompanying jargon in such studies are likely to dissuade many legitimate challenges. Paul Craig Roberts has described most disparity studies as "based on contrived anecdotes and statistics" that have "worsened racial polarization by inflating and distorting the presence of discrimination." The demand for them has given rise to a multi-billion dollar consulting industry.

Governor Wilson's approach for dis-

mantling the machinery of state-mandated racial preference is direct. It will prevent the bureaucratic sleight of hand described above. If it succeeds, it will fuel similar challenges to similar unjust laws in other states. It offers our best short-term hope for a return to the standards of equal rights and merit as the bases of our political and economic lives. □

Mr. Cabrera is the director of communications for the Pacific Legal Foundation.

End of an Era?

POLITICAL scientist Harvey C. Mansfield Jr. once described affirmative action as "settling down in our constitutional polity like a determined guest seeking to establish squatter rights." On July 20, the University of California Regents began eviction proceedings, passing two resolutions to end racial preferences in admissions, hiring, and contracting.

The UC system is no stranger to such controversy. In 1978, the UC Davis Medical School was the focus of the *Bakke* decision, in which the Supreme Court struck down its 16 per cent minority set-aside as unconstitutional. While the decision outlawed quotas, it left the door ajar. Justice Powell, in obiter dicta, wrote that race or ethnicity "may be deemed a 'plus' [but it cannot] insulate the individual from comparison with other candidates." The UC system interpreted this to mean that it could still rely on race, so long as it was simply one non-academic "bump factor" among many. In post-*Bakke* California, this "bump factor" became UC's big lie.

The UC system's undergraduate mandate is to educate the top 12.5 per cent of the state's high school graduates. (Others are provided for by the California State University and Community College systems.) But UC colleges also seek to enroll freshman classes whose ethnic compositions mirror those of high school graduates. These goals are incompatible. In 1990, for example, Asians constituted 14 per cent of California's high school graduates and 35 per cent of the pool eligible for UC admission; Hispanics were 23

per cent of graduates, 7 per cent of the pool; African Americans were 7 per cent of graduates, 3 per cent of the pool.

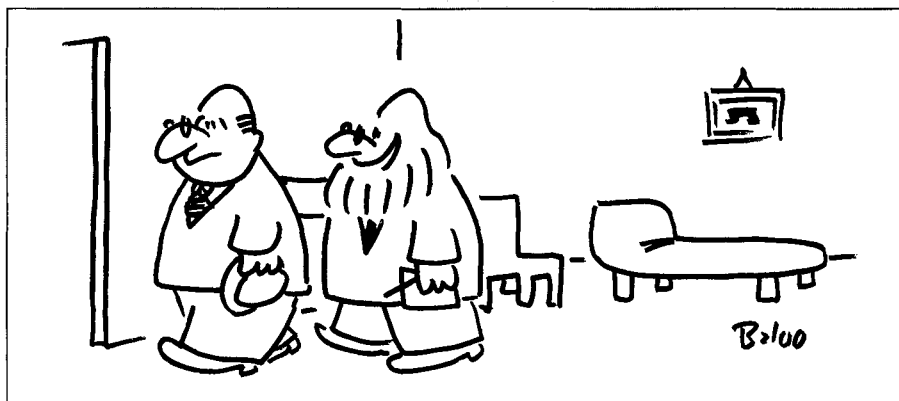
Given this reality, UC schools cannot treat applicants in a colorblind manner and achieve "mirroring." So they use racially specific standards. At the system's two most competitive schools, UC Berkeley and UCLA, this results in freshman classes with widely varying GPAs and test scores; in 1994 the SAT gap was over 200 points. As recently as 1992, Berkeley automatically admitted non-state resident targeted-minority students in academic achievement ranges in which resident white and Asian students were automatically rejected.

Race-based admissions are also the norm at UC law and medical schools. I recently completed a study of the latter, and UC's claim that race was just one factor among many—such as economic disadvantage—melted in the face of the data. Indeed, non-disadvantaged minorities were accepted by UC medical schools at four times the rate of disadvantaged Asian and white applicants.

UC officials were less than forthcom-

ing in the months leading up to the July 20 Regents meeting. Regent Ward Connerly, who sponsored the controversial resolutions, wrote to the Chair of the Regents: "You could drive a Mack Truck through the factual differences" between information coming from independent researchers and UC officials. Nor is the UC bureaucracy going to change direction without a struggle. Cornelius Hopper, vice president of health affairs, insinuated that the system's medical schools will circumvent the Regents' decision, telling the *New York Times*: "We have very creative faculties." Another UC official, quoted on the condition of anonymity, said that admissions officers would "wiggle around" any new rules.

THERE are other reasons to believe that the Regents' votes on July 20 will produce more smoke than fire. For instance, the resolutions do not prohibit anything which is "necessary to establish or maintain [UC] eligibility for any federal or state money." Doubtless it will take other votes at various levels to finally evict affirmative action from the UC system. Still, the Regents' votes were historic. They marked the date that talk was transformed into action. —MICHAEL LYNCH



Michael Lynch is a public policy fellow at the Pacific Research Institute.

"Just stop listening to National Public Radio, and your guilt complex should clear right up."

Why Wait a Lifetime . . .



for a Gun That Will Last You a Lifetime?

The Browning Citori. Its timeless design and equally enduring construction make it the shotgun that will serve you faithfully throughout your lifetime and eventually become the treasure you will pass on to your family's next generation of hunters.

The Citori is what every hunter aspires to own because of its flawless performance, superb handling, unmatched pointability and precision balance. Each

critical component is machined from solid steel then hand fitted for exacting performance.

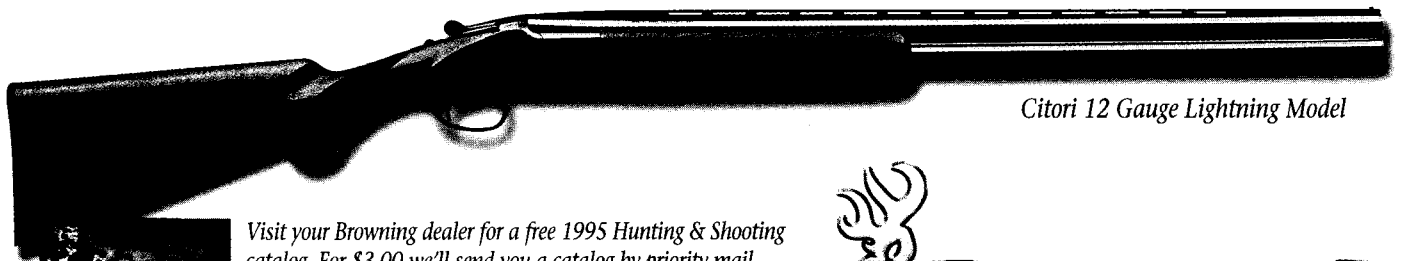
We use only select-grade walnut with cut checkering for a sure grip and good looks. Meticulous wood-to-metal fits boast the precision demanded of any firearm carrying the Browning name.

All 12 and 20 ga. Citori's feature back-bored barrels and the interchangeable Invector Plus choke tube system. You get

improved patterns, higher shot velocity and less felt recoil for more effective and comfortable duck and pheasant hunting.

Citori's in 28 gauge and .410 bores accept Browning's interchangeable Invector choke tubes for the versatility to match any day afield in pursuit of quail or grouse.

The Citori is designed and built to give you a lifetime of shooting pleasure — starting today.



Citori 12 Gauge Lightning Model

Visit your Browning dealer for a free 1995 Hunting & Shooting catalog. For \$3.00 we'll send you a catalog by priority mail. Call 1-800-333-3504 to order by credit card, or send payment to Browning, Dept. M103, One Browning Place, Morgan, Utah 84050-9326. If you have questions on Browning products please call 1-800-333-3288.

 **BROWNING**
THE BEST THERE IS.

Leave It To Beavers

ED MOATS

ON the sixth day, according to Genesis, God created the beaver. His own personal Corps of Engineers, fully furnished with its characteristic intolerance of running water. Later the same day He created man, whom He commanded to populate the earth and rule over all creation. Anyone could see that conflict was inevitable, but who would have thought that the furry little paddle-tails would become unwitting accomplices of the Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW) in a scheme to convert private property to state use?

Bill Devine owns a parcel of land situated a mile and a half east of Maple Falls, Washington. An abandoned railroad bed that courses across Devine's land impounds rain and snowmelt seeping down from Black Mountain. Successive generations of the local beaver lodge have long been damming the system of culverts and ditches once built by the railroad to drain the impounded water away from the railroad grade.

The railroad abandoned the line in 1957. When Devine arrived in 1971 he inherited the human side of the Battle of the Culverts, made especially difficult by the beavers' practice of extending their dams inside the culverts. These dams create ponds of the impounded seepage. Devine enjoys these ponds and the waterfowl they attract, so long as enough water flows through the culverts to prevent the ponds from topping over the rail bed. But when the beavers plug the culverts tight in rainy season, pond water is sent down to and over the nearby Mt. Baker Highway, creating hydroplane conditions for a stretch of 300 to 400 feet along the busy state roadway.

Over the years there have been numerous accidents and near accidents. In

the early 1980s a car hydroplaned off the road and rolled downside up in the borrow ditch. A local school bus driver fished his Subaru there, and worried aloud that cars on that flooded patch would endanger his young passengers. Devine became concerned about liability. In December 1993, a skidding car took out some fence along the roadway, and Devine resolved to take action before someone was killed.

The problem was to preserve the ponds, but prevent flooding of the highway. Working entirely on his own land, Devine solved the problem in January 1994 by building his own dams immediately in front of the culverts, so close that the beavers could not haul their construction materials inside the culverts. These dams maintained the ponds, but kept the culverts clear, so that pond overflow went through the culverts and down the ditches rather than over the rail bed and across the highway. Devine also built a berm in certain places to help eliminate the overtopping problem. The highway flooding was stopped and the ponds were saved.

But WDFW wasn't happy. Devine had not obtained its permission to set things right. WDFW filed criminal charges accusing Devine of the gross misdemeanor (punishable by one year in jail) of con-

structing a hydraulic project that changed the natural flow or bed of state waters without written approval.

The case was tried in Whatcom County this May and lasted three days. The defense argument was that the law did not apply to storm water run-off devices or artificial watercourses. The prosecution claim was that "streams" ran into the ponds and that the area below the ponds was "salmon habitat." The jury deliberated forty minutes. The verdict: not guilty. This writer has since spoken with some of the jurors. Their decision was unanimous from the start of deliberations. One declared the case "A waste of taxpayers money, totally uncalled for . . . a shame."

All's well that ends well, but in this case a troublesome mystery remained: Why did the prosecution occur at all? Removing the beaver dams had eliminated a dangerous road hazard. One would expect a letter of commendation, not a criminal prosecution.

THE key to unlocking this mystery was disclosed during the trial. A WDFW witness revealed that he had previously recommended inclusion of Devine's ponds and the area below them in WDFW's catalog of salmon streams. This was startling news to Devine, but helped explain the bizarre demand WDFW had made upon him for an out-of-court settlement: convert his property into a salmon enhancement project to be henceforth managed as salmon habitat! To the objection that there were no salmon on the property, a state spokesman rejoined, "Well, that may be true, but Mr. Devine doesn't want a conviction, does he?"

Thus was the plot exposed: a taking by accusation. The state coveted Devine's property, and took his solution to the beaver dam problem as a pretext for a land grab. The technique: Accuse the landowner of a crime, then take his land in an out-of-court settlement.

Washington state conservatives have discerned that land ownership is identical with land use, and that private ownership is the principal hedge against oppressive government. Thus far they have directed their ire especially at regulatory takings—the devaluing of property by administrative regulation. Referendum 48, on this November's ballot, aims to fully compensate victims of this practice. After November, state conservatives may well turn their attention to the wily menace of accusatory takings. □



"Welcome to the big Rush Room in the sky."

Mr. Moats is a community college teacher in Bellingham, Washington.

Voucher Wars Revisited

IN "Voucher Wars" (NR West, August 14, 1995) Joy Dee Anthony gives a misleading impression of the current state of the "voucher wars" in California. The possibility of getting substantial financial backing from John Walton and Bill Oberndorff for an effective voucher initiative is most welcome to all proponents of greater parental choice of schools. However, the initiative that they have spent \$500,000 developing is unacceptable.

The most important requirement of an acceptable initiative is that it encourage new and innovative schools of all kinds—non-profit and for-profit. We need to bring the resources of the entrepreneurial community into play, to produce the kind of improvements in education that were produced by competition in telephone, cable TV, computers, package delivery—indeed, wherever private enterprises were cut free to compete and experiment.

Making possible this kind of development will do more than anything else to shake up the public schools and force them to improve their performance and spend more in the classroom than what they spend now—which is less than half of their total expenditures.

A voucher of around \$3500 is a good deal more than most public schools now spend in the classroom, and higher than many if not most private schools now charge as tuition. At the same time, it is a good deal less than the state and school district now spend per pupil. With such a voucher, a profitable potential market would quickly be established for private schools, especially in lower income areas where there is currently the most dissatisfaction with public schools.

In higher income areas, parents could and would be willing to add to the voucher to get a still better quality of schooling, just as now they find ways to improve their local schools so that high income areas almost inevitably have the better schools.

All advances in society have come from the ablest and most enterprising individuals, not from the under-performing individuals on whom so much emphasis is now placed. An adequate voucher initiative must provide oppor-

tunities for such individuals, whatever their family's income.

The latest of many drafts that we have seen of the initiative being proposed by the Walton group does not meet the objectives just stated. On the contrary, it is our considered conclusion that it would prevent the development of an effective choice program for years ahead.

We have four major objections to this draft:

1. It could as readily be labeled a welfare initiative as an educational initiative. It is heavily biased toward low income and poorly achieving students and against the kind of parents who have the possibility of providing a market for innovative private schools.

2. It is heavily biased against private schools. Fundamentally, it aims at improving public schools—a worthy purpose, but one that is best attained through open competition.

3. It introduces a means test where a means test does not belong.

4. Most important, it puts effective control of the whole process, including approving private schools entitled to receive vouchers, in the hands of the state education bureaucracy: the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Department of Public Education. This would only strengthen the power of the establishment and of the teachers' unions.

It disturbs us greatly that one of our favorite magazines is spreading false hope about achieving a satisfactory choice system, something that we have been working on for more than thirty years. —MILTON & ROSE D. FRIEDMAN

Response: I am surprised that the Friedmans feel that the voucher initiative proposed by John Walton's group is worse than none at all. Given the voters' rejection of the last voucher plan, the proposed initiative seems to me to be one way of getting the voucher ball rolling. Dr. Friedman himself has stated that some restrictions are to be expected in any initiative involving government funds. But he knows far better than I where to draw the line. I would not vote for any voucher plan that did not have Milton Friedman's support.

—JOY DEE ANTHONY

Master's Degrees for the Classroom Teacher

Delivered Off-Campus In Your Area

Recognized as a state leader
in delivering off-campus
graduate degrees/credentials
to the educators of California.



1-800-695-4858

Accredited By W.A.S.C

Improve the Quality of your life! at The Ultimate in Sports & Fitness

Enjoy:

**Corporate
Memberships
Available**

- *29 Tennis Courts
- *10 Racquetball Courts
- *State-of-the-Art Conditioning Room
- *50 meter Olympic Pool
- *Towel and Locker Service
- *Tanning/Massage
- *Free Child Care
- *Meeting Room/Banquet Facilities



The CLAREMONT CLUB
The Ultimate in Sports & Fitness

1771 Monte Vista Ave. • Claremont, CA 91711

(909) 625-6791

Let Us Pray

WE are a religious people, whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." There is no better way to confirm the truth of this aphorism of the late Justice William O. Douglas than to take a tour through the state constitutions.

Forty-seven states have preambles invoking the name of Almighty God (three state constitutions do not have preambles). A joint resolution of Congress could declare that children in public schools might lawfully recite voluntary prayers employing only such acknowledgment of divine power and goodness as is present in their own state constitution or in the constitutions of any of the other states. When this resolution is signed by the President, it could take effect immediately. It is difficult to imagine that the Supreme Court could take exception. To do so would not only put it in direct opposition to the elected branches of government, but would also require it, in effect, to declare the state constitutions unconstitutional!

Following are some examples of the nonsectarian piety embodied in the fundamental laws of Western—although we could as well use Eastern—states:

"We the people of the State of Arizona, grateful to Almighty God for our liberties, do ordain this constitution."

"We, the people of the State of California, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure and perpetuate its blessings, do establish this constitution."

"We the people of Colorado, with profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in order to form a more independent and perfect government; establish justice; insure tranquillity; provide for

the common defense; promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Colorado."

"We, the people of the State of Nevada, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure its blessings, insure domestic tranquillity, and form a more perfect government, do establish this constitution."

"We the people of New Mexico, grateful to Almighty God for the blessings of liberty, in order to secure the advantages of state government, do ordain and establish this state constitution."

"Grateful to Almighty God for life and liberty, we, the people of Utah, in order to secure and perpetuate the principles of free government, do ordain and establish this constitution."

"We, the people of the State of Washington, grateful to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for our liberties, do ordain this constitution."

"We the people of the state of Wyoming, grateful to God for our civil, political and religious liberties, and desiring to secure them to ourselves and perpetuate them to our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution."

Who could ask for more in a school prayer than to acknowledge that it is through Divine Providence that we enjoy our civil and religious liberty, and that we reaffirm our faith in and constant reliance upon God to preserve and perpetuate it?

It is notable that the state constitutions have provisions equivalent to the "no establishment" and "free exercise" clauses of the First Amendment. The following is from California's: "Free exercise and enjoyment of religion without discrimination or preference are guaranteed. This liberty of conscience

does not excuse acts that are licentious or inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State. The legislature shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." From this it is apparent that the people of the states have seen no inconsistency between the guarantee of religious freedom and expressions of gratitude to God.

The United States Constitution, while guaranteeing to every state a republican form of government, does not say expressly what that form is. But every enabling act by Congress for the admission of a State to the Union since the Civil War has had the following provision:

"The Constitution of the State of...shall always be republican in form and shall not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and the Principles of the Declaration of Independence."

UNDER this mandate from Congress, we find the principles of the Declaration—which is, according to the United States Code, the first of the Organic Laws of the United States—affirmed over and over again in the state constitutions. Consider the Bill of Rights of Oregon's Constitution:

"Section 1. Natural rights inherent in people. We declare that all men, when they form a social compact, are equal in right: that all power is inherent in the people . . ."

And the Declaration of Rights of California's Constitution:

"All people are by nature free and independent and have inalienable rights. Among these are enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining safety, happiness, and privacy."

From a study of the state constitutions it can be seen that "endowed by their Creator" and "by nature" are correlative terms, each implying the other. It can also be seen that the rights secured to us by the human law, whether of the states or the United States, are means of implementing antecedent rights whose origin is in a Supreme Being. It is difficult to imagine how we can teach citizenship to future citizens without inculcating in them an understanding of and a reverence for this origin.

—HARRY V. JAFFA

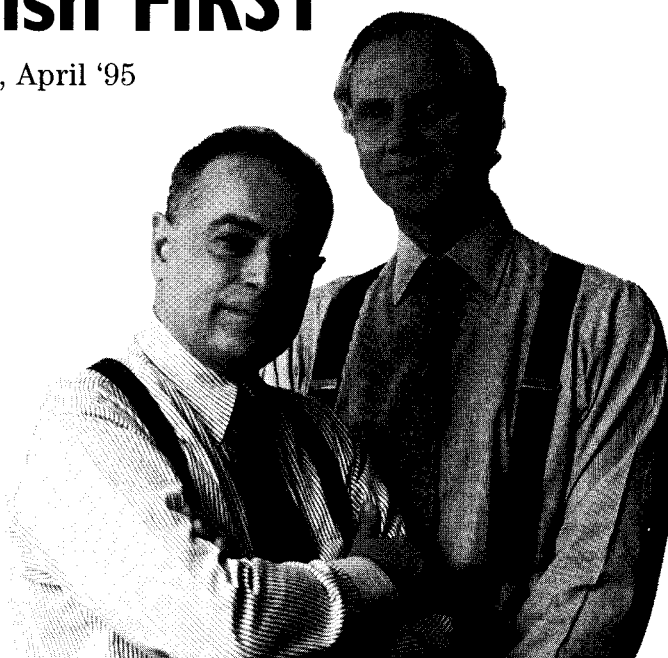
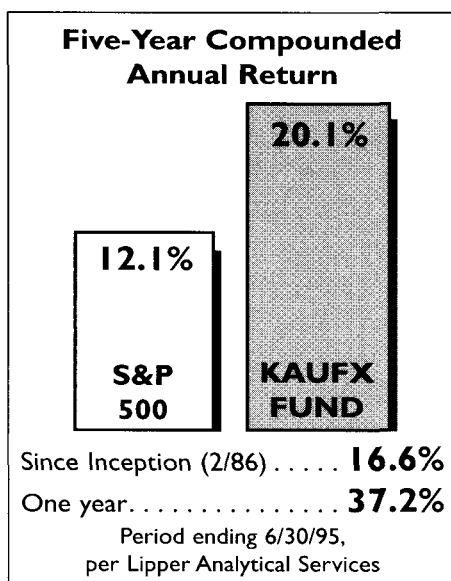
Mr. Jaffa is professor emeritus of political philosophy at Claremont McKenna College and a distinguished fellow of the Claremont Institute.

The Kaufmann Fund

A Small Company Growth Fund

"Tough Guys Finish FIRST"

Mutual Funds Magazine, April '95



Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch, Portfolio Co-managers with over 60 years of combined Wall Street experience

More than twice the average total annual return of all funds

(5-year period ending 6/30/95. Out of 870 equity funds, per Lipper Analytical Services)

Morningstar 5-Star (★★★★★) Rating*

(Out of 3,206 equity funds as of 6/30/95)

For a prospectus call:

(800) 666-9233



* Morningstar ratings are subject to change every month and are calculated from the funds' three- and five-year average annual returns with appropriate sales charge adjustments and a risk factor that reflects performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an investment category receive five stars.

Total returns for periods ending June 30, 1995 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost. The prices of small company stocks are generally more volatile than those of large companies.

The Kaufmann Fund, Inc.

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2266

See the Fund on the Internet at <http://networth.galt.com/kaufmann.18>

population than those of our present congressmen do. A new meaning would accrue to the statistical term "representative sample." The range of popular opinions would be represented with fine accuracy, though these opinions would still have to be hammered out in congressional debate in order to forge policies. Once in Congress, members would be free, as they are today, to "vote their consciences." But those consciences would be typical, average consciences, rather than the atrophied consciences of dedicated power-seekers.

At one stroke, the electoral lottery would solve all the problems perceived as arising from the underrepresentation of various groups. The laws of statistics would guarantee that Congress would both "look like America" and

Rather than retain the practice of sweeping elections for many seats at once, we could reallocate congressional seats at, say, the rate of one per day.

think like America. While there might be anomalies at any given time, normally slightly more than half the members in each chamber would be women, 13 per cent would be blacks, and so forth, without gerrymandering. There would also be far fewer lawyers in Congress, which offers advantages as well as disadvantages.

A Congress elected by lot would be far more lively intellectually. The members would no longer be constricted by the present necessity of making their public mouthings correspond to the safe middle ground for the sake of re-election. There would be more eccentrics, more loose cannons, more independent voices in public life, in place of today's grey mediocrity and wheedling insincerity. Voting alliances would form in Congress, but these would be looser than today's shepherded flocks.

Moreover, a government chosen by lot would be more willing to do what its members perceived to be in the general interest—just as we recognize that Supreme Court Justices can put principle above expediency because they will never have to come up for re-appointment.

Election by lot would be far cheaper than voting. The

mechanics of election would be much less costly, and less open to fraud, than the collection and counting of votes. There would be no spending by candidates to get elected, and interest groups hoping to influence policy-making could do so only by talking to the general public about the issues.

Congressional campaign spending would disappear—without the government's having to address the matter directly or infringe upon the First Amendment. There would simply be no congressional campaigns. Indeed, there would be no particular reason to retain the practice of sweeping elections for many seats at once. Congressional seats could be re-allocated at, say, the rate of one per day.

The politics of sound bites, scandal-mongering, and negative campaign ads would instantly and completely cease. The expenditure of resources on revealing or covering up elected officials' past sexual indiscretions—which have absolutely no relevance to anyone's administrative competence or to the wisdom of his political program—would also largely end.

Denied the opportunity to spend money in order to affect the outcome of elections, pressure groups would allocate more money to their two remaining avenues of influence: working directly upon public opinion (so that those elected would be more likely to favor the positions the groups advocate), and lobbying incumbent congressmen. But such lobbying, though still possible, would be less effective because of the lack of a cohesive permanent caste of politicians. So pressure groups would be induced to "lobby" the whole adult population, stimulating wide debate and political education. In a very real sense, power would be returned to the people.

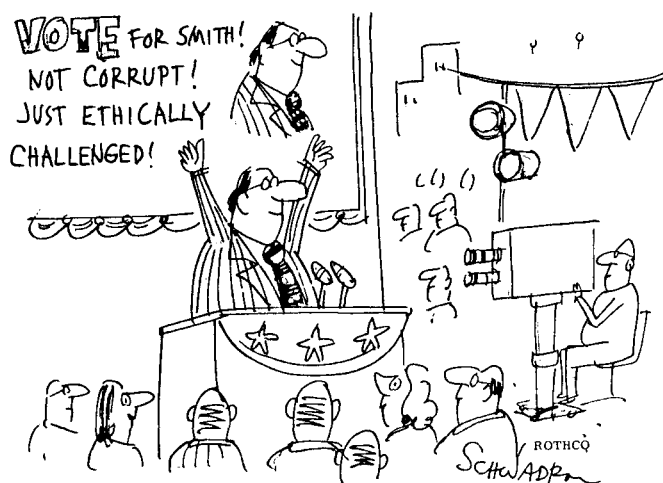
Some of those elected would not wish to serve in Congress. But this reality would make no more difference than the fact that many citizens today choose not to exercise their right to vote. The number of those elected by the lottery could be adjusted to take into account the fact that some would choose not to accept their own election.

COULD election by lot work in practice? Well, it has worked in many places over many centuries.

Everyone knows that the democracy which was to be a shining beacon for later generations was developed in Athens. But an ancient Athenian would be surprised and suspicious at the notion of a "democracy" that confined itself to voting for representatives, without a major role for election by lot. And our Athenian would be dumbfounded by a "democracy" which lacked the principle of rotation: the iron rule of any true democracy that no one be permitted to hold the same political office twice.

As Athens became more democratic, it relied increasingly heavily on election by lot. At first the lottery was conducted by drawing white and black beans from a container, but by the fourth century B.C., a special randomizing machine, the *kleroterion*, was manufactured. (Specimens have been recovered by archaeologists.)

In the Athenian democracy, most major political decisions were made by the *ekklesia*, the mass meeting of all



citizens who cared to attend. But there were still many powerful public officials. All magistrates were chosen by lot, including the nine *archons* (usually translated as "chief magistrates," though this understates their political authority). All other public officials were also chosen by lot, except generals and some financial officials (who were elected by majority vote). The *boule*, or council of 500, was elected by lot, and its chairmanship rotated by lot. It met daily and actively supervised the performance of all public officials. Executive functions were broken down into small tasks, each entrusted to a board of ten members chosen by lot and serving for one year. Voting for representatives had some place in Athens, but it was looked at warily, as an inherently antidemocratic device that tended to oligarchy.

The lot was also widely used for political decisions in Rome, but here it had no democratic purpose. For example, which of Rome's two consuls could decide a matter was often determined by lot. With the capture of power by Julius Caesar, democracy in practice disappeared from the Western world for a while, although those writers who thought and wrote about it continued to associate it with election by lot.

Election by lot was employed in Venice and Florence during the Renaissance, and for a time in one Swiss canton. It prevailed in towns of the Basque regions until being stamped out by the Spanish crown.

It was only about 250 years ago that the prevailing concept of democracy lost its association with election by lot

and became largely confined to majority voting. Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), was the last major writer to take it for granted that, as he put it, "suffrage by lot is natural to democracy." Rather abruptly, election by lot disappeared from mainstream theoretical discussion. This may have happened in part because the English House of Commons, which had begun to serve as a model of representative institutions, evolved as an instrument of countervailing power. It was not seen as an organ of democracy, nor even as a governing body, but rather as a check upon the real government, the King and Lords. (Positions in the monarchy and aristocracy, of course, are filled by a different kind of lottery.)

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century, election by lot continued to attract supporters, ranging from obscure pamphleteers, like the author of *Election by Lot the Only Remedy for Political Corruption*, to George Bernard Shaw. G. K. Chesterton toyed with the idea in *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*.

In recent decades a steadily growing number of academic political theorists have come to favor election by lot. Benjamin Barber's *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) is a typical product of Sixties "participatory" sentiment, of little interest except in that it recommends the "reintroduction of election by lot on a limited basis," mainly for local governing assemblies.

John Burnheim's *Is Democracy Possible? The Alternative*

Daddy, what would happen to me and mommy if you died?

If your son or daughter asked you this question, would you have the right answer?

You can.

- ▶ Your family's future security is at risk if you haven't made adequate life insurance preparations.
- ▶ Why wait to do it? You're not getting any younger, and every year you delay the more expensive coverage becomes.
- ▶ Act now to protect your family's future with a low-cost, high-quality term life insurance policy from a AA+ rated blue chip insurance company.

AGE	COVERAGE	COST
30	\$100,000	\$12 / MO.
40	\$250,000	\$22 / MO.
50	\$500,000	\$29 / MO.

* Mark Matia honored in the *Wall Street Journal* as the nation's top producer for one of the country's leading life insurance carriers.

Call today for your free personalized quotation:

Mark Matia
800-866-2955

Murdock-Taylor
3350 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Suite 1050
Atlanta, GA 30326

to *Electoral Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) takes a tougher line: "to have democracy we must abandon elections, and in most cases referendums, and revert to the ancient principle of choosing by lot those who are to hold various public offices."

A different kind of work is *A Citizen Legislature* by Ernest Callenbach and Michael Phillips (Berkeley: Banyan Tree/Clear Glass, 1985). Brief but economical, this book is entirely devoted to arguing for election by lot. The authors propose a House of Representatives chosen by lot, co-existing with other institutions chosen by majority vote in the present manner. The authors' approach is scrupulously practical; they recommend beginning the experiment with state legislatures. Though they make no secret of their leftist views, Callenbach and Phillips realistically note some of the policy issues where the House would be markedly more conservative than it is under the majority-vote system.

All these writers have been surpassed, at least in grandiosity of vision, by Barbara Goodwin, a leading British political philosopher, in her truly remarkable *Justice by Lottery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Professor Goodwin argues for what she calls the "Total Social Lottery," in which most aspects of life, including occupation, income, and the right to bear children, are allocated by lot. She does allow a few modifications, in such matters as the choice of a surgeon to operate on the anatomy of

Barbara Goodwin.

Professor Goodwin's utopia is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the socialist view that the whole of life is political. Most notably, her conception of industrial efficiency is pitifully inadequate. When we consider, for example, that serious estimates of the cost to the U.S. economy of the effective prohibition of IQ tests run as high as \$145 billion, we can easily see that the immensely more devastating effects of randomly allocating people to jobs would threaten the very physical survival of the majority of the population. All equivocation about people being able to "learn to do a job" is fruitless: a substantially free labor market ceaselessly removes people who can do jobs from those jobs, replacing them with people who can do the jobs a shade better. We all benefit from the enormous efficiency of this system.

A STANDARD objection to sortition is that not all the representatives elected by lottery would be capable or competent. But it's far from clear that they would, on average, be any less capable or competent—at governing, rather than at running for office—than the political performers who entertain us today. Congress is already a home for comparative mediocrities. Many towering political personalities of today would be entirely undistinguished if employed in the middle man-

agement of industry, which is about as lofty a station as their talents might be expected to elevate them to. It's true that *some* of the congressmen elected by lot would be

Congress is already a home for comparative mediocrities. Many towering political personalities would be undistinguished if employed in middle management.

unusually incapable, but they would be outweighed by their more nearly average colleagues. And *exceptionally* capable people would probably be at least as numerous as they are now. Leaders would emerge within the Senate and the House. Ordinary members, as now, would have the intellectually undemanding chore of voting for or against pieces of legislation prepared, as now, by professional staff. Voting in Congress requires opinions, not expertise.

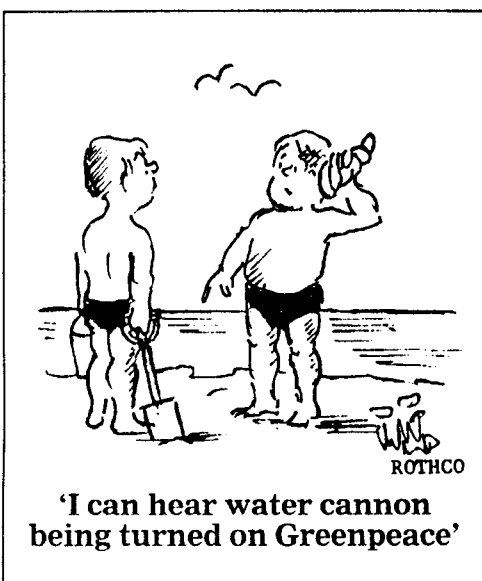
Some may object that the people would not be choosing their own representatives. But this notion of representation evolved in small English communities, with obvious leaders of high traditional status, and with most people unable to vote, so that only a handful of people were actively involved in choosing each representative.

Given universal suffrage and the expansion of population, electoral districts have become so large at the state and federal levels that this old notion no longer makes any sense. Nowadays the voter gets to choose between two big packages, each containing many items he finds distasteful. Most voters now feel, deeply and instinctively, that their congressman does not represent *them* in any way whatsoever. This is not a passing mood, nor is it a failure of civic responsibility; it is the sober recognition of an indisputable and irreversible fact.

In fact, election by lot would give ordinary people a greater *sense* of representation, even though congressmen would no longer have been

theoretically delegated by them. Members of Congress would mostly be ordinary women and men, not individuals who had chosen the unsavory profession of politician. To the folks back home, electoral lottery winners would often appear to be true representatives, in the way that major celebrities are often so regarded by the communities from which they sprang. (Most people in Dixon, Illinois, for example, viewed Ronald Reagan as representative of themselves and followed his political ascent with pride, long before they ever had a chance to vote for him.)

A related worry is that members of Congress would no longer be accountable to the voters—the implication being that they could do anything they liked. But congress-



men are accountable now only in the sense that they may wish to run again and may lose next time if they do something unpopular. Under sortition, all top office-holders would have exactly as much accountability as any politician does now in his final term, including every President in his second term. Election by lot would in this respect be no different from the strictest term limits.

But winning an electoral lottery and becoming a member of Congress would undoubtedly be a stroke of luck for most winners: they would hope to capitalize on it for the rest of their lives, in the enhanced value of their experience and opinions. So they would still have some career motivation to please the public, as well as the natural desire to be highly thought of.

The recent growth of academic interest in sortition has been almost purely leftist in inspiration. There are at least three reasons for this. First, most academics are leftists. Second, in this century a concern with popular "participation" has been mainly a preoccupation of socialists. They sense that something is dreadfully wrong in the relations of government and governed, but rather than reduce the scope of government, they respond by trying to involve the subjects more actively in politics. Third, anything that offers to break up an ossified ruling group naturally appeals most to those who feel themselves unfairly excluded from political influence. Leftists felt this way very sharply in the Fifties and Sixties, whereas conservatives came to do so in the Seventies. When the leftist participatory

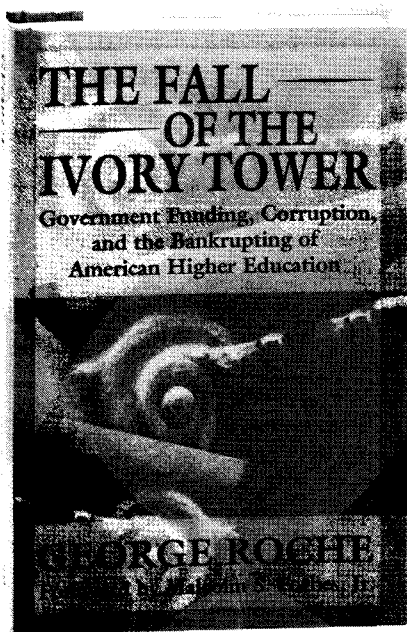
democrats of the 1960s began to reflect and to write books about their reflections, some of them gave birth to the modern intellectual movement in favor of election by lot.

Whatever its causes, the fact that the revival of sortition has occurred on the Left explains why it has made no contact with the term-limits movement, strongly linked to the Right. However, if the popular disaffection with majority-vote democracy continues to grow, as I expect it will, it is more than likely that this disaffection will join forces with the fledgling intellectual movement for sortition. Election by lot would then be revived as a serious contender in public discussion.

Sortition is particularly suited to the modern world of political entities with enormous populations and with the technical means to select randomly from large databases. And it is increasingly congenial to the contemporary world view, shaped by the indeterminacies of quantum mechanics and chaos theory.

It is now widely believed that, while government is a necessary evil, rule by representatives chosen by majority vote is its least evil form. But election by lot may well be a decided improvement on majority-vote elections, and as long as people feel that they need some kind of government, sortition is surely worth a try.

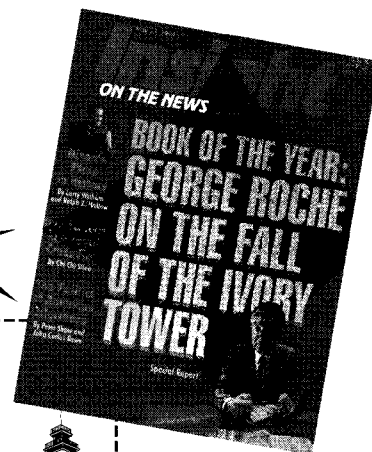
In any event, it probably will be given many a try in the coming century. We may as well begin to ponder that which we are going to confront in practice. □



Regnery Publishing 259 pages Hardbound

This may be the scariest book you read this year.

And it's not about crime, drugs, or AIDS. It's about higher education.



ORDER TODAY BY MAIL OR CALL 1-800-437-2268

ORDER TODAY AND PAY ONLY \$20. (Regularly \$24.)

MI residents add 6% sales tax.

Name ☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Ms. ☐ Miss

Address

City/State/Zip

☐ Home ☐ Office

Order direct from Hillsdale College and save! Purchasers will also receive a free subscription to the monthly speech digest, *Imprimis*.

Mail book orders to:
The Hillsdale College Press
Hillsdale College
Hillsdale, MI 49242



The Fall of the Ivory Tower is featured as "Book of the Year" in an *Insight* magazine special report.

Golden Oldies

The AARP is a behemoth that pursues an aggressively liberal political agenda, at the expense of the elderly. Can it be stopped?

THOMAS MCARDLE

WHO would have expected Alan Simpson, that folksy, aw-shucks senator from Wyoming, to be the kind of guy to beat up defenseless little old ladies? Yet Simpson, the new chairman of the Senate Finance Committee's Social Security subcommittee, has been holding hearings zeroing in on the tax-exempt status of the American Association of Retired Persons. And after all, isn't AARP Grandma's advocate in Washington, making sure politicians don't touch her Social Security check?

Those accusing Simpson of engaging in a partisan witch-hunt, motivated by AARP's protectiveness of Medicare's status quo, don't seem to have noticed the Democrat at his side in the hearing room. Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana is obviously at least as sick of AARP as Simpson is.

Breaux focuses on AARP's income from licensing its name: "I mean, it's like Andre Agassi and Michael Jordan, who give their names to endorse products to get royalties and revenues. But y'all have done much better than any person I can think of." Breaux questions AARP's legal status as a non-profit: "Boy, I don't think that's what Congress intended. We did not intend to create organizations for marketing purposes and give them tax-exempt status."

AARP's revenue totaled \$740 million for the last two years. Less than \$300 million of this came from membership dues. What accounts for the other \$440 million?

Some \$66 million came from royalty income. Then AARP receives 3 per cent of every premium on insurance purchased through it from Prudential Insurance Co.; this (plus the interest earned by AARP before the premiums are turned over to Prudential) yielded over \$200 million. In 1993 AARP took in \$22.5 million thanks to its relationship with Hartford Insurance Co., \$4.4

million from its mail-order pharmacy, and \$4.1 million from auto rentals.

Since nearly one-fourth of registered voters are AARP members, AARP is the self-anointed champion of the elderly on Capitol Hill. But it no more speaks for its 32 million members than the American Automobile Association's Washington lobbyists speak for its millions of members who joined to get free emergency towing and road maps. In fact, as Breaux pointed out during the hearings, only one-seventh of AARP members say they joined because of the group's political activities. The others join because of the irresistible airline and car-rental discounts, bargains on health, life, and auto insurance, annuity and mutual-fund discounts, and terrific price reductions on prescription drugs, often an expensive burden for senior citizens. Members get all this for just \$8 a year (up from \$5 two years ago).

BUT AARP is nothing daunted. Its 1995 policy agenda, *Toward a Just and Caring Society*, a weighty tome of some 492 pages, gives policy advice on everything under the sun.

Look on page 27 and you'll find that AARP is in favor of increasing gasoline taxes. On page 33, AARP comes out against a lower capital-gains tax, for classic class-struggle reasons. The "highest priority" should be given to "raising taxes on the highest-income taxpayers," according to AARP.

At a time when most taxpayers have come to hate and fear the Internal Revenue Service, AARP calls for an increase in IRS audits and says the agency's "examination and enforcement staffs should be increased."

The National Taxpayers Union Foundation, which studied AARP's lobbying agenda two years ago, charges that if AARP got all the tax increases it has asked for, the average household's tax burden would be increased by over \$13,000 in a decade.

Instead of standing up for the elderly and arguing that some of the money currently spent on AIDS research should be reallocated for diseases like Alzheimer's and



"Damn plucky of you, Gillespie, fighting through like this."

Mr. McArdle is a reporter for Investor's Business Daily.

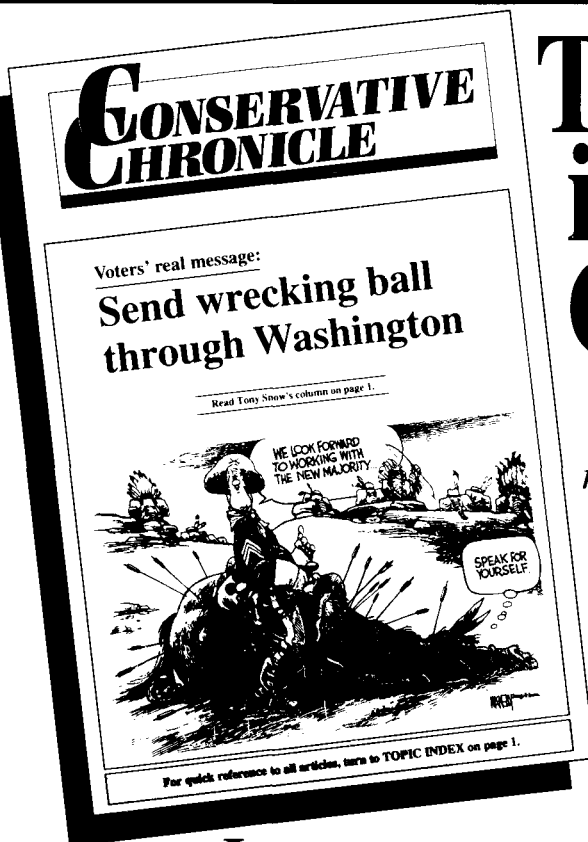
Enjoy all your favorite columns – every week!



There is Only One Source

Where you can get all of the nation's top conservative columnists and your favorite cartoonists every week.

You would need to buy over a dozen metro newspapers to enjoy all the wit and commentary you could find in one *Conservative Chronicle*.



Linda Bowles



William F. Buckley



George Will



William Safire



R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.



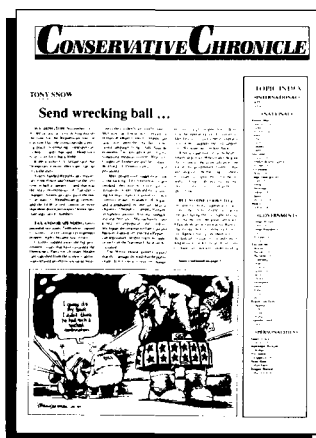
Joseph Sobran

If you want to know what all the nation's finest conservative minds are saying about the Republican *Contract with America*, the 104th Congress, school prayer, defense spending, Russia, Whitewater and a host of other issues . . . now there is one convenient source—the *Conservative Chronicle*.

Every week, read the distinguished columnists shown plus Tony Snow, Walter Williams, Paul Harvey, Linda Bowles, William Rusher, Mona Charen, Ken Hamblin, Edward Grimsley, Robert Novak, James Kilpatrick and Cal Thomas—a total of 37 nationally respected columnists and 27 cartoonists with conservative appeal.

And it's all in an easy-to-handle format. You'll also enjoy the wit and humor of the *Conservative Chronicle's* cartoonists, including Jeff MacNelly, Dick Wright, Mike Ramirez, Bill DeOre, Jerry Barnett and Henry Payne.

All 52 issues are yours for only \$42.00! Cancel at any time—for any reason—and get a full refund on unmailed copies. Get the complete story. Don't miss this great line-up of conservative thinkers. Call toll-free 1-800-888-3039 or mail or FAX coupon to 515-456-2587 to take advantage of this exceptional value!



Conservative Chronicle

Box 11297, Des Moines, IA 50340-1297

Yes, I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for \$42.00 (add \$30.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.

Payment: ☐ Check ☐ Bill me ☐ VISA ☐ MC

Card # _____ Exp. date _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

HNRI

cancer, AARP's position is that "Government programs will have to be expanded to meet the burdens of treating" AIDS. In fact, the fashionable disease gets a two-page section in the AARP agenda, while Alzheimer's gets three scant mentions.

AARP's interests range far and wide. For example, page 391 explains the need for anti-lock brakes on oversized trucks. AARP is in favor of rent control, wants to "fully fund" every existing federal initiative for the homeless, and supports campaign-finance reform consisting of "spending limits and public financing."

The organization's Washington staff even joined the opponents of Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court. During his confirmation hearings, they put out press releases charging that as EEOC chairman he "engaged in actions that significantly diminished the rights of older workers."

But health care is where AARP really shows its colors as the best friend of big, dumb government. First there was the health-care fiasco of 1988, in which AARP successfully pushed for an expansion of Medicare to cover catastrophic illnesses, funded by a surtax and premium on beneficiaries. Thus AARP actually signed on to a program that slapped a tax of as much as \$800 a year on elderly people.

The next year senior citizens revolted. House Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski was chased down a Chicago street by his own elderly constituents, and catastrophic-illness insurance ended up being scrapped. It remains, extraordinarily, the only case in which an entitlement enacted into law was later repealed.

What lesson did AARP learn from the experience? Its legislative director, John Rother, said in 1992, "With repeal of catastrophic coverage we learned that piecemeal approaches do not work."

So last year it was on to socializing the country's entire health-care system. Rother was named president of the Health Care Reform Project, a coalition of trade unions and other liberal groups whose explicit purpose was to drum up support for HillaryCare. This notwithstanding the results of a survey conducted in the *AARP Bulletin*. Of the 25,000 who took the time to answer, 82 per cent rejected the Clinton health proposal.

AARP research director Constance Swank quickly explained; "They're probably not a true cross-section of AARP membership." However, an internal memo shows that AARP did a "health-care-reform impact study" showing that of the more than 16 per cent of AARP members who chose not to renew in 1994, "one-half state that AARP's stance on health care was either a main reason (35%) or a very important reason (15%) in their decision not to renew."

NOT ONLY does AARP pursue policy positions at variance with its constituents' views, it pursues them aggressively. AARP concedes that it spends over \$6.7 million annually on "direct lobbying, including political-advocacy advertisement." Tim Penny, formerly a Democratic congressman from Minnesota, explains that "AARP is invariably a presence on those nights when the liberal coalition is concerned about the outcome of a particular issue."

In the current budget debate, AARP is pushing hard to shelter Medicare from efforts to balance the budget. AARP has its work cut out for it. Medicare was the fastest-growing spending program in the 1980s, ahead of defense and Social Security. Its growth was exceeded only by the growth in net interest payments. According to the Congressional Budget Office, "without change, Medicare will account for 24 per cent of entitlement spending in 2000, compared with 21 per cent in 1995." Even the Clinton Administration

has admitted the program will go bust within seven years if nothing is done.

Since budget cutters have targeted entitlement reform as essential to controlling the size of government, AARP is laying down a thick smokescreen. Its *Bulletin* has asked whether Medicare and Social Security "are being *confused with* entitlement programs" (emphasis added). In the same article, which seems designed to confuse readers, Rother calls it an "erroneous assumption that all entitlements are responsible for the growing deficit." Never mind that of the \$1.25 trillion in federal outlays on domestic programs in fiscal year 1993, "Entitlement programs and grants for Medicaid, family support payments, and housing accounted for 60 per cent," according to Robert McArthur, an analyst for the U.S. Census Bureau.

One way to start trimming government might be to slash the \$86 million AARP received in federal grants in 1994—19 per cent of its total reported income. Those grants included \$24 million from the Environmental Protection Agency for the "national Senior Environmental Employment (SEE) program." The Department of Labor is giving AARP \$50 million this year through the Senior Community Service Employment Program (SCSEP) for poor senior citizens "to sharpen and develop skills while searching for a permanent job." The Department of Labor should have looked at the 1993-94 grant year. The total cost per person enrolled in SCSEP was \$3,446; however, fewer than 4,000 of the 13,923 older workers enrolled "found unsubsidized employment in 93-94 grant year," according to AARP's own figures.

AARP contended in its 1993 Executive Report that it "continued to defend the rights of workers as they age." But as Sen. John McCain remarked in his testimony to the Social Security subcommittee, AARP refuses to support repeal of the biggest obstacle faced by the millions of senior citizens who want to work: the Social Security earnings test. "In reality, what the AARP means when it states it is fighting for work opportunities is that it is fighting to preserve the federal largesse that funds its work programs," McCain explained.

Moreover, while AARP insists that taxpayer money is not used to subsidize its political activities,



"I got a book and a mini-series deal.
How about you?"

the fact remains that without the \$86 million, AARP would have to make a choice between reducing its work programs and shrinking its huge Washington political-advocacy apparatus.

But AARP may have shown itself at its most arrogant when it tried to get around a new law designed to stop for-profit companies from mailing at non-profit postage rates.

In 1990, a statute was enacted prohibiting the use of the non-profit third-class postage rate for mail that "advertises, promotes, offers, or, for a fee or consideration, recommends, describes, or announces the availability of . . . insurance policies . . . not generally otherwise commercially available . . ." The prohibition clearly applied to AARP. In early 1992, AARP tried to convince the Postal Service to join with it in seeking to change the law and to forgive AARP's back postage deficiencies, even if it had violated the 1990 statute.

The Postal Service refused. "We explained that [we] did not have the authority to permit an organization to make mailings at a rate which violated statutory provisions," testified Jeffrey Zerkowitz, a Postal Service Senior Counsel. In other words, No, we can't help you break the law.

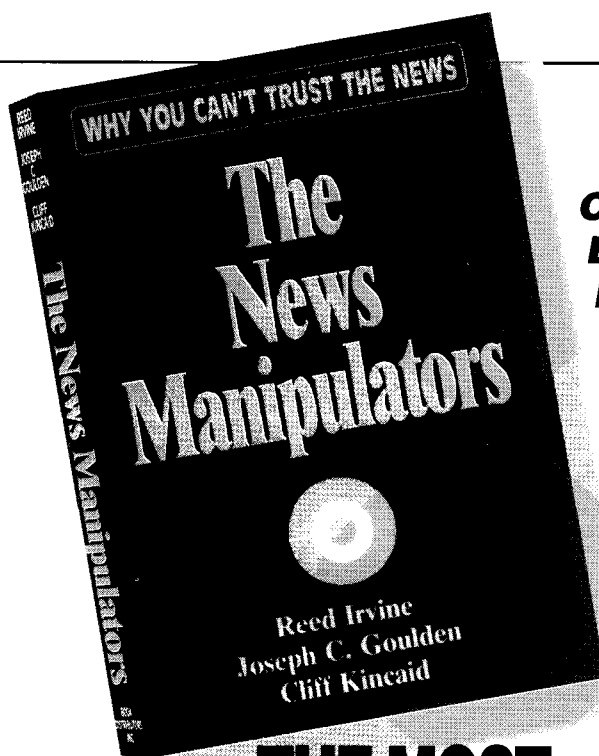
AARP ended up suing the Postal Service. In an out-of-court settlement, AARP agreed to pay past postage deficiencies.

ALL RIGHT, many AARP members might say, they may be up to no good, but I still get a great deal.

Well, when all is said and done, that's not altogether true either.

The unrivaled circulation of AARP's publications make them the most lucrative advertising market in America, but AARP will sell ad space only to companies that give it kickbacks. "AARP does not accept advertising in *Modern Maturity* for products that are similar in nature to those offered by providers who have the right to use AARP's name and logo," AARP said in its written response to questions from Sen. Simpson. That means if there's a better bargain out there for senior citizens, they won't find out about it from AARP.

For example, the AARP Capital Growth mutual fund got only a two-star rating from Morningstar (five stars is the highest possible) and an E rating from *Investor's Business Daily* (A+ is the highest possible). Even in the case of



**Over 100
Exposes of
Dishonest,
Deceptive
News**

THE MOST ANGER-PROVOKING BOOK IN AMERICA

- Did the news media contribute to the Waco tragedy?
- Do cellular phones really cause cancer?
- Has a TV network ever been caught in a blatant lie?

Finally — here are the carefully researched facts about the dishonest methods news people use ... how the media "get" public officials they don't like ... how they deceive you about political candidates they do like ... how they show deception and bias in pushing their favorite causes like gays in the military ... taking guns away from average citizens ... pushing for more and more big spending government programs ... how they constantly criticize law enforcement ... find fault with business ... and actually provoke black violence and crime with their never-ending, one-sided news about America.

You'll learn the truth about the deceptive practices used by the media in *The News Manipulators*. Order now from Accuracy in Media, your media watchdog.

To: ACCURACY IN MEDIA, 4455 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Ste. 330, Washington, DC 20008

YES. Please send me a copy of *The News Manipulators*.

- ☐ I enclose \$19.95 plus \$3.00 for shipping/handling
☐ Two copies for \$32.95 plus \$4.95 for shipping/handling
☐ Charge my credit card: ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard ☐ AMEX

Acct. # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

AARP's most successful fund, Growth and Income, AARP members could have found 25 funds in the same category that did better in their 1992-94 performance and more than 200 that have performed better this year—and they would have done so if AARP had not prohibited those other funds from advertising in *Modern Maturity*.

AARP members might also resent the millions spent to maintain the plushness of the organization's Washington operation. Employee compensation totaled \$63 million in 1994, including over \$335,000 for executive director Horace Deets's salary plus benefits. AARP's office space cost over \$47 million for the last two years, \$34 million of which went for its Washington headquarters.

SOME OF AARP's millions could be redirected from pushing its political agenda and feathering its Washington nest, and instead be spent trying to find the best bargains for the elderly. AARP could even cut down on the quantity of taxpayers' hard-earned bucks it accepts.

What the Republican Congress does to rein in AARP may be one of the more important tests of its guts. Chairman Simpson seemed amenable to a set of rules for non-profit organizations suggested by Paul S. Hewitt, executive director of the National Taxpayers Union Foundation—itsself a 501(c)(4) non-profit that would fall under these rules:

—Non-profits should ideally receive no federal grants. Short of that, if an organization spends more than 5 per cent of its budget on lobbying, then it may not receive or administer federal grants.

—Non-profit mail subsidies should be capped at 5 million pieces.

—For a lobbying organization to qualify for non-profit status no more than 20 per cent of its operating budget may be funded by commercial activities.

Hewitt also thinks AARP's members should be, under law, the ones to decide if AARP's lobbyists may represent them before Congress.

But Hewitt's most important suggestion goes to AARP's members themselves, who unwittingly have created a monster with all those \$8 checks: "Consumer beware," he tells them. "Don't sell your political soul for the price of an airline discount." □

Virtual Policy

The Administration in two years has imperiled the work of fifty years in the Far East.

ROBERT A. MANNING AND JAMES J. PRZYSTUP

SINCE the end of World War II, the United States has largely shaped the contours of the Asia-Pacific region. Our open markets and our security umbrella have helped produce an unparalleled economic miracle benefiting Americans and Asians alike. In two short years the Clinton Administration has cast a shadow over America's credibility and future in the region.

The Administration can claim the rare achievement of imperiling relations with Japan and China simultaneously; this is the result of a set of initiatives that make its Bosnia policy look like high strategy. The ink was not dry on the recent auto deal with Japan before the U.S. Trade Representative took up the Kodak film case. U.S.-China ties are so tattered that Peking has recalled its ambassador, while fresh evidence of Chinese missile exports to Pakistan suggests a deepening spiral of conflict. And if all that weren't enough, a truculent North Korea threatens to rip up the UN armistice even as the U.S. and South Korea shower it with nuclear concessions, oil, and rice.

All this is hardly what President Clinton seemed to promise in July 1993 when he offered an inspiring vision of a "new Pacific community," and then hosted an unprecedented gathering of Asia-Pacific leaders in Seattle. A combination of wrong-headed ideas, special-interest-driven policies, and dysfunction-

al rhetoric has produced the current state of affairs.

Particularly troubling is a contempt for language and for the public, reflecting either an Orwellian belief that official rhetoric need not have any resemblance to reality, or a sense that public policy can be changed cost-free with each 24-hour news cycle. How else to explain incidents such as these:

—After Secretary of Defense William Perry calls North Korea the most dangerous security threat in the world, Secretary of State Warren Christopher misstates his own Korea policy before Congress on the eve of talks with Pyongyang. Even as his negotiators desperately try to implement the October 1994 accord seeking to end Pyongyang's nuclear-weapons program, an essay under Christopher's name appears in *Foreign Policy* magazine absurdly proclaiming that "Last October, this Administration ended it."

—The Secretary of State tells his Chinese counterpart that he will deny Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui a visa for a visit to his college reunion, publicly accepting Peking's argument that it would violate our "one China" agreements. Days later, his Department says it is issuing a visa because of "congressional pressure" and as it is a private visit.

—After two years of "results-oriented" trade negotiations with Japan, the trade deficit has grown to a record \$66 billion. After demanding that Tokyo guarantee auto-parts import numbers, the Administration blinked, accepted a private-sector-driven deal with no assured results, and declared victory.

Such developments are merely the latest evidence of what Mr. Clinton's top Asia advisor, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord, warned last year was an "emerging malaise" in U.S. policy. In May 1994, a



"I'm sorry your car was totaled—but we can't really sue the tree manufacturer."

Is It Heresy to Be An Orthodox Catholic?

In America today, it most certainly is. Just flip on the T.V. or read a paper or popular magazine! Or speak out against abortion, homosexuality, shacking-up, euthanasia, or the ordination of women, and see how quickly you get shouted down!

Even in certain quarters in the "American" Catholic Church it's heretical to be orthodox. Incredible, but true! Priests and seminarians loyal to the Magisterium can find themselves marginalized. Pro-life professors on certain Catholic campuses have been persecuted. Laity who question New Age-style liturgies or antipapal homilies, or smutty sex education curricula in their children's Catholic schools, are often ridiculed. It sometimes seems as if Catholicism-Lite has become the new "orthodoxy." And woe to you if you step out of line!

But we at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, a Catholic monthly magazine loyal to the Holy See, know that true Catholic orthodoxy was founded upon the Rock who is Peter, while the little orthodoxies of modernity were found *under* a rock. So, there's no reason to be intimidated by all the slimy attacks on the Truth — and we aren't. We present the authentic Catholic vision in a muscular way.

Amazingly, we're also ecumenical in spirit. We embrace solid Protestants, "mere Christians" of the C.S. Lewis variety. We know that Evangelicals and the Eastern Orthodox are among our most valuable allies. We've been hailed by

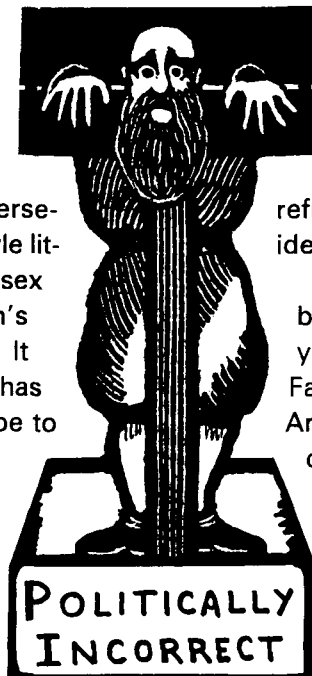
eminent Evangelical historian Mark Noll for "addressing modern culture with deadly (though sometimes comic) seriousness." Many of the finest Catholic and non-Catholic thinkers have appeared in our pages: Walker Percy, Christopher Lasch, Russell Kirk, Robert Coles, Ronda Chervin, Germain Grisez, John Lukacs, Sheldon Vanauken, Peter Kreeft. Founded in 1977, we cover a wide range of issues, including the quest for a more just society, but refuse to subordinate the Faith to political ideology.

If you're looking for a magazine that's boldly and engagingly Catholic, we're for you. When it comes to proclaiming the Faith "it's a sin to be dull," according to the Archbishop in charge of the Pontifical Council for Social Communications. We take that to heart. We have an international audience, and we're published in Berkeley: The one and only thing we share with the denizens of that flamboyant university town is being "intellectually aggressive," which is how the *Hawaii Catholic Herald* describes us.

We "belong in every loyal Catholic's arsenal," says Fr. Joseph Fessio.

Neither glossy nor glitzy nor gimmicky, we only dazzle you with our compelling content, lucid prose, and political *incorrectness*. Whether or not you're Catholic, behold our intellectual fireworks by subscribing now!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue)



SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ One-year subscription \$14 (regularly \$19) | ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription US\$24 (regularly \$29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars |
| ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription \$12 (regularly \$16) | ☐ Sample copy \$3.50 |
| ☐ Two-year subscription \$23 (regularly \$35) | |

Send coupon or letter. Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 32
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706



NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

leaked memo to Christopher from Lord cautioned that "Asia and others view us as placating domestic special-interests groups and criticize us for tactics that destabilize relationships which are central to the region's peace and prosperity."

In fact, the problem is not malaise, it is self-inflicted marginalization. How did this come about? First, the Administration put political and security issues with Japan on the back burner, arguing that it was economics that needed attention. Ignoring the reality of a Japan suffering from political crisis, three years of zero growth, and a \$570-billion banking crisis, the Administration first talked down the dollar (which it is now intervening to push up) and tried to reinvent the wheel by creating a new "framework" for U.S.-Japan economic ties. However defensible the substance of efforts to open Japan's markets, tactics of public confrontation produced the exact opposite result, a Japan that said no. Not only did the bully-boy approach fail to reduce trade imbalances, but it also poisoned public opinion on both sides of the Pacific.

If the Clinton Administration's Japan policy leaves much to be desired, its China policy—attempting to meet the key challenge of managing the emergence of a new global power—has been so bungled that we are now in danger of an escalating cycle of conflict.

Trying to have it both ways, trade and human rights, President Clinton renewed China's Most Favored Nation status by Executive Order in June 1993, but, in response to pressure from Congress, worded the Order so as to make

MFN renewal contingent on specific human-rights improvements.

That strategy effectively boxed the President in. But an indignant China bet on capitalist greed and on the pattern of waffling that Clinton had already demonstrated in Bosnia, Haiti, and Somalia. And after publicly humiliating the Secretary of State in March 1994, Peking's octogenarians were proved correct in May, as Clinton changed course and renewed MFN unconditionally, announcing a policy of constructive engagement. The price of Clinton's belated adoption of the right course was U.S. credibility—which his flip-flop-crazy has regularly squandered.

Moreover, the MFN decision was largely a response rather than part of a coherent China strategy. Thus, from nuclear proliferation and human rights to trade and Taiwan, a pile of contentious issues continues to fester. A fluid leadership succession in Peking, where no Chinese leader can be viewed as "soft" on the United States, combined with the widespread Chinese misperception that the explanation for the United States' disconnected policy decisions is that Washington seeks a weak and divided China, makes the situation ripe for missteps on both sides.

In any case, a Japan that said no was matched by a China that said no. Not to mention a North Korea that said maybe. This, after the President had declared, "North Korea cannot be allowed to get nuclear weapons," while his own CIA said it may already have one or two.

All the Administration's missteps in the Pacific are papered over by contin-

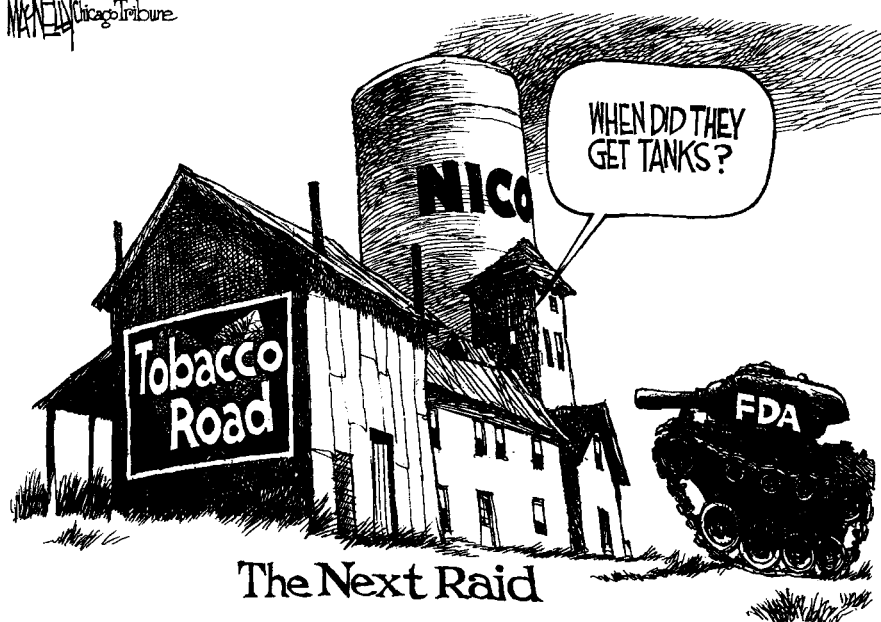
ued use of boiler-plate rhetoric. Witness Winston Lord, in a speech in May: "The U.S. has the capability, credibility, and even-handedness to play honest broker among nervous neighbors, historical enemies, and potential antagonists." Indeed, the Administration's rhetoric invites the Groucho Marx line from *Duck Soup*, "Who you gonna believe, me or your own two eyes?"

THE PRICE of mistakes is high, when the fastest-growing economies in the world are coming of age, feeling the weight of their economic success and pride in their social cohesion. The problem is that our leverage in the region is diminishing as our stake is increasing. We must define a new partnership that reflects the region's success. This requires smarter, more supple and sophisticated diplomacy, and more forward-looking concepts. Instead, we have seen the opposite: public hectoring and self-righteous sermonizing, even as our economic weight in the region is viewed as shrinking, and our security role, in the absence of the Cold War, is believed to be problematic.

The ultimate irony is that the goals the Administration has rightly sought—promotion of democracy, liberalized trade, security cooperation—are all trends unfolding systematically, but at their own pace. The pattern in the Asia-Pacific region has been that export-growth strategies produce rapid economic growth. At a certain point, an emerging middle class demands more accountable, pluralistic government. This has been the story in the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand; indeed, the explosion at Tiananmen was in a sense the result of new social forces produced by economic reforms that China's ossified political system could not contain. Thus Clinton's Asia policies reflect a failure to appreciate trends that are generally going in the direction America wants them to.

The result may be serious damage to U.S. interests if the present backlash continues. If Japan does not believe in the U.S. nuclear umbrella, if China believes the U.S. is a paper tiger, if North Korea believes it can cheat with impunity, if East Asia believes its explosive

MANNING Chicago Tribune



Mr. Manning is a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute. Mr. Przystup is director of the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation.

intra-regional trade and investment reduce the importance of U.S. markets, the results are likely to be a marginalized U.S. role, conventional and nuclear arms races, strategic instability, and jeopardized prosperity.

All the while, Asians make calculations based on long-term trends and

current realities in which the U.S. looms smaller. But this is not inevitable. History and geography demand that the U.S. will be a major player in Asia. But our role must change with the times. The President might start by recognizing the first rule when one finds oneself in a hole: Stop digging. □

customs as loading one of the guns for a firing squad with a blank cartridge, so that each member of the squad can imagine that his will be the non-lethal shot. And with lethal injection, the executioner's use of skills and procedures normally devoted to life-saving poses ethical questions for medical caregivers.

Given these defects, abolitionists will presumably press to have each of these methods declared "cruel and unusual." The intended result of these efforts is to make the death penalty unconstitutional in practice, even if it remains constitutional in theory.

It is in fact possible to conceive of a method of execution that would cause neither pain nor physical trauma, require no medical procedure (other than pronouncing death), and use no hazardous chemicals. A case of accidental death suggests such a method.

Early in the Space Shuttle program, a worker at Kennedy Space Center walked into an external fuel tank (a vessel nearly as big inside as a Boeing 737) to inspect it. He was not aware that it had been purged with pure nitrogen gas to prevent oxygen in the air from corroding its interior. Since nitrogen is the

Killing With Kindness

Capital punishment needn't be cruel or unusual—especially if you use nitrogen asphyxiation to put people to sleep.

STUART A. CREQUE

LAST October, Judge Marilyn Hall Patel of the 9th U.S. District Court ruled that execution in California's gas chamber is a form of cruel and unusual punishment, the first ruling ever by a state or federal judge to invalidate a method of execution on Eighth Amendment grounds. She noted that the evidence showed that the condemned man might remain conscious for several minutes, experiencing the emotions of "anxiety, panic, terror," as well as "exquisitely painful muscle spasms" and "intense visceral pain."

On its face, Judge Patel's ruling applies only to the gas chamber, but every method of execution in current use involves toxic chemicals or physical trauma to induce death—and every method can go awry. An ideal hanging snaps the condemned man's neck cleanly; a botched one either strangles him slowly or severs the head entirely from the body. A firing squad that misses its mark leaves the condemned man conscious as he bleeds to death. In the electric chair, according to eyewitness accounts, some condemned men have literally been cooked until their flesh was charred and loosened from the bone; some had sparks and flame emanating from their cranial-cap electrodes.

Besides society's concern for the condemned man's physical suffering, all of

these methods implicitly require an executioner to inflict some degree of trauma upon the condemned. Concern for the executioner's conscience drives such

The Making of a CONSERVATIVE ENVIRONMENTALIST

Gordon K. Durnil

A prominent conservative Republican explains how and why he became an environmental activist and issues a plan for serious action.

"An engaging and thought-provoking memoir from a political conservative ... Uncommonly sensible and heartfelt perspectives on being green ..."

—Kirkus Reviews

"My old friend Gordon Durnil has a message that deserves to be heard, and will be well received." —Dan Quayle

"A thoughtful, readable mandate." —Ken Bode

"Gordon Durnil's book proposes ... a no-nonsense, workable alternative. ... Few leaders of either political party can match his courage and insight." —Jack Weinberg, Greenpeace

"I highly recommend this well thought-out and provocative tome to the many who have yearned to know the truth about our God-given environment." —Mary Matalin

"His story makes clear that the cause of conservation can be a unifying cause and that a conservative ideology can embrace a conservationist's deep commitment." —William K. Reilly

216 pages, cloth \$19.95

At bookstores or from
**INDIANA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS**

Orders: 1-800-842-6796
<http://www.indiana.edu/~iupress>

Mr. Creque is a freelance writer in Moraga, California.

major component of ordinary air, pure nitrogen has no distinctive feel, smell, or taste; the worker had no indication that anything was out of the ordinary. After walking a short distance into the tank, he lost consciousness and collapsed. A co-worker, not realizing that his collapse had an external cause, ran in to aid him and succumbed also. By the time other workers realized what was happening, the two men were dead.

More recently, a bizarre accident involving nitrogen killed two people in the Bay Area. They had stolen from a hospital a gas cylinder containing what they thought was laughing gas. However, the cylinder contained not the anaesthetic nitrous oxide but pure nitrogen. When the two men stopped their car to partake of their booty, the nitrogen gas displaced the air in the car, leaving them without oxygen. Had they had any indication of the problem, they could have saved their lives simply by opening the car doors.

These deaths were similar in cause to a relatively common drowning accident known as shallow-water blackout, mentioned specifically in certification classes for recreational scuba diving. When a person is skin diving (that is, without scuba gear), his bottom time is limited by how long he can hold his breath. Occasionally, a skin diver will attempt to lengthen the time he can stay under by hyperventilating before a dive. Unfortunately, this can lead to his losing consciousness underwater, sometimes only a few feet before reaching the surface.

THE connection between nitrogen asphyxiation and shallow-water blackout lies in human respiratory physiology. When you hold your breath, you begin to develop a powerful urge to breathe. This is caused not by the depletion of oxygen from your body, but by the buildup of carbon dioxide in your bloodstream, which changes the pH of the blood. The ambitious skin diver "blows off" most of the carbon dioxide in his bloodstream when he hyperventilates; as a result, he notices the urge to breathe much later than he normally would, at a point when his blood oxygen is dangerously low. If his blood oxygen falls too low before he reaches the surface, he blacks out and drowns. Because the Kennedy Space Center workers continued to exhale carbon dioxide with each breath, neither of them noticed an unusual urge

to breathe, even though they were completely deprived of oxygen.

Nitrogen asphyxiation is a unique way to die. The victim is not racked by a choking sensation or a burning urge to breathe, because as far as his body knows, he is breathing normally. Carbon dioxide is not building up in his bloodstream, so he never realizes that anything is wrong, nor does he experience any discomfort; he simply passes out when his blood oxygen falls too low.

Nitrogen asphyxiation is therefore a perfect method of execution. It uses a cheap and universally available working medium that requires no special envi-

ronmental precautions for its storage and disposal. Its first symptom is loss of conscious sensation, a primary goal in a humane execution. It involves no physical trauma, no toxic drugs; the executed man's organs will even be suitable for donation, a factor cited in a recent stay of execution for a Georgia killer.

Assuming that the prisoner's guilt has been sufficiently proved, nitrogen asphyxiation is perhaps the most gentle way to deal with him. A condemned man awaiting death by nitrogen asphyxiation would experience no more pain or suffering than he created in his own mind. □

Searching For The White Underclass

Will the white underclass soon rival the black one? Evidence suggests catastrophe may be postponed.

CARL F. HOROWITZ

EVERY ONCE in a while the sky really is falling," Charles Murray wrote in the October 29, 1993, *Wall Street Journal* in a guest editorial, "The Coming White Underclass." The sky was falling because whites, who make up more than four-fifths of the American population, were developing social pathologies at a fearful pace; whites might well wind up where blacks are today, and not too many years down the road either.

A decade earlier, Murray's book *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980* brought new thinking to the issue. The poor were made worse off by the very "anti-poverty" measures designed to improve their lot. Beginning around 1965, social pathology, from crime to drug abuse to illiteracy, took a sharp turn for the worse. It did so because we redrew the ground rules to

bring out the worst in the poor—and potentially in all of us. Murray wrote:

The most compelling explanation for the marked shift in the fortunes of the poor is that . . . we—meaning the not-poor and undisadvantaged—had changed the rules of their world. . . . The first effect of the new rules was to make it profitable for the poor to behave in the short term in ways that were destructive in the long term. Their second effect was to mask these long-term losses—to subsidize irretrievable mistakes. We tried to provide more for the poor and produced more poor instead. We tried to remove the barriers to escape from poverty, and inadvertently built a trap.

Now, late in 1993, Murray saw the jaws of that trap tightening further, despite disingenuous "work incentives" injected into the welfare system. The rising out-of-wedlock birth rate was the culprit. A family without a husband is simply not a viable economic unit. That is why anti-poverty assistance (roughly \$350 billion in combined federal, state, and local government spending in fiscal 1994, according to the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector) has continued to rise. The 1991 rate of births to black

Mr. Horowitz is a Washington correspondent for Investor's Business Daily. Previously, he was housing and urban-policy analyst for The Heritage Foundation, and a professor of urban planning at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

THE TOP 10 REASONS TO COME ON NR'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY CRUISE

10. Possibility We May Invade Cuba. The National Review 40th Anniversary Cruise will take place this October 28th to November 4th, and will hit the exotic Eastern Caribbean ports of San Juan (where there's everything from the excitement of top-flight casinos to unsurpassed sight-seeing), St. Thomas (a shopping paradise), and St. Maarten (home to some of the world's most beautiful beaches). If the mood hits us, we'll swing by neighboring Cuba and give Fidel a scare.

9. Ted Kennedy Will Not Be Driving. We'll be sailing aboard Celebrity Cruise's MV *Zenith*, a premier luxury ship featuring all the amenities and pampering service expected of one of the world's leading cruise lines.

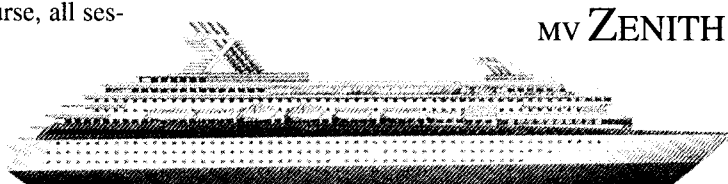
8. More Food than Even Bill Clinton Can Eat. Will your appetite ever be tempted by our Cruise vittles. Take the *Zenith's* five-star cuisine rating, add in the fact that delectable meals and snacks are available throughout the day, throw in complimentary 24-hour room service, and you've got yourself a floating gourmet's paradise. Of course, you can make up for all the fine dining by paying a visit to the *Zenith's* well-appointed Olympic Health Club.

7. Chance to Live It Up for a Week Like Ron Brown. We've got amenities that would make our Commerce Secretary drool: a luxury cruise where you can do whatever you want. So come to some or all NR events, or nap the afternoon away in a deck lounge chair, or try your luck in the Mayfair Casino, or relax in a steamy sauna, or enjoy the Broadway-style entertainment in the Celebrity Show Lounge, or soothe those tensions away with a massage, or do a belly-flop in the Marina Deck pool.

6. Event Ruled "Politically Incorrect" by FDA. The 40th Anniversary Cruise will feature three exclusive gala cocktail bashes, two "smokers" (sponsored by H. Upmann Cigars) and an afternoon champagne reception. We've been told such stuff is politically incorrect—and in defiance of FDA regulations. In other words, relax, bend an elbow, light up, and enjoy yourself for once.

5. Pat Schroeder Jokes Required Beyond Three-Mile Limit. Don't worry, we've rigged it so that, once we reach international waters, you won't have to endure leftist babble. Indeed, we're throwing three exclusive, strictly *conservative* get-togethers with the editors of NR: they include a speech from Bill Buckley, a special mock "Firing Line" hosted by Bill, and a political panel discussion (the topic: What'll Happen in '96) with NR editors. And of course, all sessions will allow for ample Q&A.

4. Arlen Specter Is Not Coming. Judge Robert Bork and the Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed will be *National Review's* special guests. Need we say more?



3. Costs Less Than One HillaryCare Payment. Here's what you get on NR's 40th Anniversary Cruise Celebration: seven days and nights in a spacious, gracious luxury stateroom, all entertainment and meals, transfers, taxes, gratuities, port charges, and admittance to all *National Review* functions. The cost: as little as \$1,975 per person (which is far less than one HillaryCare payment would have run you)! Plus you'll receive a \$100 per person discount if you book your cabin before Labor Day!

2. No O.J. Here's a really different way to escape from the "Trial of the Century," by hanging around with John O'Sullivan, Ed Capano, Rick Brookhiser, Peter Rodman, Dusty Rhodes, Kate O'Beirne, and a host of other NR luminaries. Shmooze with 'em, comment on their clothing, as well as their opinions. And heck, while you're at it, why not ask them to buy you a drink!

1. Be the First on Your Block to Say "I Went Sailing with Bill Buckley!" Yes, William F. Buckley Jr., sailor *extraordinaire* and the founder of *National Review*, will be there. The 40th Anniversary Cruise is your opportunity to meet WFB, to ask him that question you've always wanted him to answer, and to join him in celebrating his favorite magazine's 40th birthday.

Book Your Cabin Today: Call the NR Cruise Information Line at 1-800-707-1634

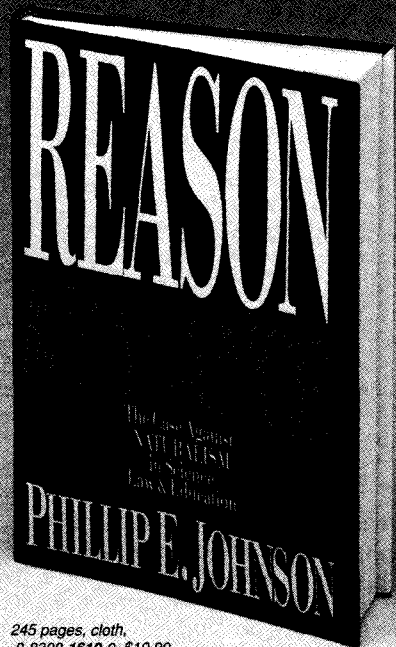
P Peachtree
Travel
Management, Inc.



X *Celebrity Cruises*

Offer is in \$US, per person, double occupancy. Rate includes all port charges, taxes, PFC and gratuities. Space is subject to availability; categories are on a first come, first served basis. Guest in attendance subject to change without notice. Celebrity's Zenith is of Liberian Registry.

"An Essential Book"*



245 pages, cloth,
0-8308-1610-0, \$19.99

"In a brilliantly controversial polemic, Johnson fires an intellectual broadside against what he sees as the marginalization of theism in public life. . . . Well argued and astute, this critical work makes an exciting contribution to contemporary scientific and cultural debate."

KIRKUS REVIEWS

"In a brilliant analysis, he shows how Darwinist assumptions underlie current controversies in ethics, law, education and public policy." CHARLES COLSON*

- Is God unconstitutional?
- Why is morality forced out of public schools?
- Can Christians believe in God and evolution?
- Why can't we resolve the abortion debate?
- Will physics explain the mystery of the universe?

In his first book, *Darwin on Trial*, Berkeley law professor Phillip Johnson shook up the scientific establishment, drawing fire and praise. "A cogent, succinct inquiry [that] cuts like a knife through neo-Darwinist assumptions," said *Publishers Weekly*. Now Johnson's taking aim at a bigger target. With *Reason in the Balance* he exposes the real agenda behind the culture wars—and points the way from the battle lines to genuine cultural dialogue.

**A Main Selection in the
Conservative Book Club**

Now available at your local bookstore or from



InterVarsity Press

P.O. Box 1400, Downers Grove, IL 60515
1-800-843-9487

<http://www.gospelcom.net/ivpress>

females out of wedlock was 68 per cent, up from about 19 per cent in 1955, 26 per cent in 1965, 38 per cent in 1970, and 55 per cent in 1980. (Until 1969 "black" and "other" were included in the same category.) In many central-city neighborhoods, the figure is now around 80 per cent.

This was appalling, but familiar enough. The shock was that while we were out partying, the rate among whites had reached 22 per cent in 1991, more than triple the 1970 figure of 6 per cent. The critical mass for a large white underclass is forming from this raw material, Murray argued. If in bygone eras "white trash" could be safely isolated from the rest of their community, to a growing extent this white underclass is coming to define its community. Welfare culture, and our tacit approval of it, are coming home with a vengeance. Ominously, he noted, the white illegitimacy rate is getting ever closer to where the black rate had stood in that pivotal year of 1965. In March of that year the U.S. Department of Labor released *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, whose author, future New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, warned of a chaos that could engulf black America. Moynihan made few friends with that report, but the readers didn't have long to wait for the denouement, as rioting in Los Angeles and other cities made clear.

HERE is properly near-universal agreement that the 30 per cent nationwide illegitimacy rate is too high. Yet consider some heresy: Suppose that whites are not doing as badly as we imagine, and that single white mothers in particular are doing better than single black mothers. In other words, let us suppose that the leading statistical indicator of an underclass, unwed motherhood, reveals *less* than we think.

There is a difference between *creating* and *raising* a child out of wedlock. An unmarried couple that creates a baby, and marries soon after, cannot be lumped in with couples who choose not to marry, or for that matter to remain a couple. The birth of Tiffany Trump, daughter of Donald and Marla Maples Trump, to take an extreme example, was "illegitimate," but it shortly preceded marriage. In Sweden, where for at least a decade out-of-wedlock birth rates have been at or above 50 per cent, the mother usually marries the father. The prob-

lem in this country is with the great many females who bear an illegitimate child and aren't marrying, period.

Research suggests a racial dimension here. White women, once having become mothers, appear more willing than black women to marry or find some alternative arrangement, according to a September 1992 Census Bureau study, *Studies in Household and Family Formation*. Using the Bureau's own *Survey of Income and Program Participation* and the University of Michigan's *Panel Study of Income Dynamics*, the study found in the mid Eighties that white single-mother households with children under 18 had a 16.5 per cent rate of becoming another type of household within one year, and a 27.3 per cent rate of becoming one within two years. The respective figures for black female-headed families with children under 18 were only 7.6 per cent and 13.4 per cent. Among families where the female head of household was between 15 and 29 years old, the white and black two-year rates were, respectively, 41.7 and 21.3 per cent.

The difference becomes even more marked when we consider educational attainment. Among white mothers, no age specified, with 1 to 3 years of high school, the two-year rate was 29.9 per cent, whereas for black mothers with the same level of education, the figure was only 11.0 per cent.

Census data indicate that among divorcees, white women are more likely than black women to remarry. In 1990 61.4 per cent of previously divorced white women aged 30 to 34, and 66.5 per cent of such white women aged 35 to 39, had remarried. For divorced black women in these cohorts the rates were 42 and 54 per cent.

Now, let us be fair to black women: The lower tendency toward marriage and remarriage among black females has a lot to do with a decline in potential mates of the same race. Census figures show that in 1970 the combined total of never-married and divorced white males stood at 11.5 million, whereas the female figure that year was only 10.5 million. By 1993 the figures had climbed to 24.4 million and 22 million. Thus, in both instances, there was a "man surplus" of about 10 per cent.

For blacks, it is a different story. Whereas the figures for both single males and females were about 1.6 million in 1970, by 1993 the male and female totals were 4.7 million and 5.5

million, respectively. Excluding the widowed, eligible black females now outnumber eligible black males by about 17 per cent.

The white-black differences become even more stark if we take into account the Hispanic factor. "Hispanic" is not a separate race on the standard Census form. For birth statistics, Hispanics are nearly always counted as "white." In 1991, for example, 97 per cent of Hispanic mothers were reported as white, 2 per cent as black, and 1 per cent as other.

In 1992 there were 3,201,678 births to white mothers. But the figure for *non-Hispanic* white mothers was 2,527,207. That leaves a gap of around 675,000. And 39.1 per cent of Hispanic births were out of wedlock. A quick calculation: The Hispanic out-of-wedlock rate was 16.5 percentage points above the overall white rate of 22.6 per cent. Since Hispanic mothers account for roughly 20 per cent of all white births the non-Hispanic-white illegitimacy rate in 1992 was about 18.5 per cent.

IN THE youth culture today, whites imitate blacks more than vice versa. Take a trip to your local shopping mall or school grounds, and note the common fashion accoutrements of white youths—baggy shirts, baggy shorts, and baseball caps. The August 22, 1994 cover story of *New York* magazine took note of such style as indicative of a massive attitude adjustment: white youths are internalizing modern black youths' disdain for achievement. Studying hard, planning for the future, and staying out of trouble are examples of—God forbid—"acting white." Youths instead emulate a dumbed-down, French-fry celebrity circuit whose opinion leaders include Jessica Hahn, Tonya Harding, Roger Clinton, and Roseanne Barr.

Even assuming that flashy trend is destiny, it is questionable that it has all that much relation to out-of-wedlock births. The two defining features of prolehood—vulgarity and provincialism—can take many forms, none necessarily inimical to forming nuclear families or taking steady work. Are whites really becoming an underclass, or just slumming around more conspicuously these days? Murray believes the former. He is fearful that the social policy and cultural forces let loose thirty years ago are now being institutionalized. The signs of white social regression can be seen first hand, he argued in the *Wall Street Journal*:

Earn \$4,000 Per Month From Your Home With A Computer!



CBSI 486 Computer Included
free, home office training. Financing available.

Begin part-time and still retain the security of your present position. This is a proven business an individual or couple can run. If you purchase our software and business program, you will receive the computer and printer at no extra cost. If you already own a computer, you may receive a discount. You do not need to own, or know how to run, a computer—we will provide

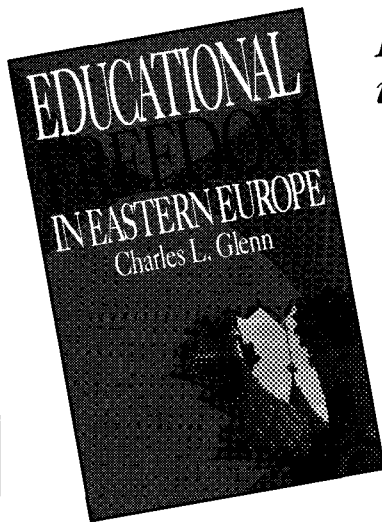
*Learn how other individuals like yourself
are building lifetime incomes!*

To receive free cassettes and color literature, call toll-free:

1-800-343-8014, ext. 1104

Or Write:

**Computer Business Services, Inc., CBSI Plaza, Ste. 1104
Sheridan, IN 46069**



Educational Freedom in Eastern Europe

by Charles L. Glenn

"The most complete analysis of the process of transformation in the educational systems of Central and Eastern Europe... A great scientific accomplishment and a committed argument for freedom in education."

—Siegfried Jenkner
University of Hannover

Commissioned and then stifled by the U.S. Education Department, this is the state-of-the-art study on how the Communists turned education into a tool of state control and how the new post-communist societies are turning to educational freedom—in some cases, giving schools and families more freedom than Americans have. **338 pp./\$25.95 cloth/\$15.95 paper**

Available at bookstores, or call

1-800-767-1241

(noon-9 p.m. eastern, Mon.-Fri.)

1000 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001



Look for certain schools in white neighborhoods to get a reputation as being unteachable, with large numbers of disruptive students and indifferent parents. Talk to the police; listen for stories about white neighborhoods where the incidence of domestic disputes and casual violence has been shooting up. Look for white neighborhoods with high concentrations of drug activity and large numbers of men who have dropped out of the labor force. Some readers will recall reading the occasional news story about such places already.

Look for those neighborhoods. Ronald Mincy, then with the Urban Institute and now with the Ford Foundation, has done just that. He uncovered 880 tracts in the 1980 Census that fit a four-part definition of an "underclass" neighborhood (high proportions of un- or under-employed males over 16, single mothers, welfare dependency, and teen-aged high-school dropouts). In these tracts, containing some 2.5 million people, Mincy found a racial breakdown of 59 per cent black, 28 per cent non-Hispanic white, and 10 per cent Hispanic.

Susan Wiener, a research associate at the Urban Institute, found that the increase from 1980 to 1990 wasn't dramatic. The number of underclass Census tracts rose from 880 to 928, with the number of people in them increasing to only a little under 2.7 million. The 1990 racial breakdown was 59 per cent black, 20 per cent non-Hispanic white, and 20 per cent Hispanic. The non-Hispanic-white proportion actually *declined* during the Eighties. Even more tellingly, the percentage of blacks, whites, and Hispanics in underclass areas, as a proportion of their entire respective nationwide populations, fell during the Eighties. Where non-Hispanic whites in underclass tracts constituted 0.37 per cent of U.S. whites in 1980, for example, they constituted only 0.29 per cent in 1990. While all these numbers refer

more to *concentration* than to size, they do suggest that the geographic spread of the underclass is approaching a limit.

If there is a long swing of history, it would seem to be a *lessening* of the coarser forms of behavior typical of "white trash." Have we forgotten the Irish "Westies" of Manhattan's Hell's Kitchen? Are we to believe that depictions of violent whites in bygone decades—*West Side Story*, *Blackboard Jungle*, the working-class/middle-class white-boy confrontations of S. E. Hinton's 1960s Tulsa (*Rumblefish*, *The Outsiders*)—bore no relation to reality then? "With two generations of prosperity, white trash looks like gentry," Harper Lee once observed. A lot of ex-trash may be way beyond that point.

Look for . . . Davenport, Iowa, where six white teenagers were convicted of the murder of a local teenaged girl. An honor student, Michelle Jensen was a naïve, thrill-seeking Girl Who Knew Too Much (about a planned convenience-store robbery—she refused to lend a getaway car). The killers were members of a local gang who had dubbed themselves the Vice Lords, after a notorious black Chicago gang. Much was made of the fact that five of the youths had grown up in female-headed homes (though they were not necessarily born out of wedlock). Only *Spin* magazine's Marc Cooper took the time to note that the real wheels in the gang were blacks, many from out of town.

According to a recent survey by George Knox, a professor at Chicago State University's criminal-justice department, law-enforcement officials in a majority of Illinois rural counties now complain of local gang activity. But are "heartland" and "white" synonymous? In Davenport, police estimate there are over two dozen gangs, comprising some 2,500 members. The estimated racial

breakdown: 50 per cent black, 40 per cent white, 10 per cent Latino and Asian. "These little white s---heads act black, they talk black, they think they're tough, but they are mutts without their gangs, just idiots. They get recruited by the older black gang members who run them like tops," noted Davenport police detective Lynn Kindred.

WHERE are all the female-headed households, the gunpowder for tomorrow's underclass? Unpublished data on some 23,000 U.S. communities gathered by the Census Bureau for the Associated Press in 1994 indicate they're mostly outside white-majority communities. Nationwide, black children are more than twice as likely as whites to be living with a single parent. Benton Harbor, Mich., a declining industrial community with a population of 12,800, held the dubious honor in 1990 of ranking highest in single-parent families as a proportion of all family households—83 per cent—among the nation's roughly 3,000 largest communities. Benton Harbor High School is known locally as "Maternity High." Benton Harbor, according to the 1990 Census of Population, was 92.2 per cent black.

The nine other communities making the top ten for single-parent families were Brownsville, Fla., Highland Park, Mich., Gladeview, Fla., Opa-locka, Fla., Camden, N.J., East St. Louis, Ill., East Cleveland, Ohio, Asbury Park, N.J., and Tuskegee, Ala. In not one did whites account for anything close to a majority of its female-headed families. Asbury Park and Camden had the *lowest* black populations, at 59.4 per cent and 56.4 per cent, and five had black populations in excess of 90 per cent. The ten communities with the *lowest* proportions of single parents were: Western Springs, Ill., Lighthouse Point, Fla., Morton Grove, Ill., Bel Air North, Md., Scarsdale, N.Y., Winnetka, Ill., Westchester, Ill., Colleyville, Tex., Lincolnwood, Ill., and Massapequa Park, N.Y. Scarsdale's 1990 black population of 2.2 per cent was the highest of any of these communities, and eight of them had black populations of under 1 per cent.

These enormous discrepancies in racial composition cannot help but cast severe doubt upon predictions that mainly white communities all across the U.S. will soon be in much the same straits as black ones today. The sky is not falling. □



"You guys have it easy. At my house, disobedience is treason!"



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1995

Dear Rusty,

This is going to sound strange, but I'd appreciate it if you'd please sign the enclosed "I'm Mad as Hell! Perot in '96!" petition, get your research associates down there in Brazil to sign it—heck, we're not too picky about their citizenship status—and pouch it back to me ASAP, so I can dash it down to Dad in Tennessee and he can mail it from the local post office. I'd ask you to send it yourself, but if Perot sees a postmark from south of the border, well, he goes bananasville.

It's all part of our "43% and Holding!" strategy for '96. And let me be totally honest: for the first time, I get the sense that Bill is firing on all jets. We had our usual guy-to-guy lunch yesterday—just him and me, one on one, except for Dick Morris, Leon Panetta, Dick Schoen, and Mark McCurry—and did he ever have fire in his belly!

Part of that could be the new McBacon Salsa Ranch Burgers and the SuperSize Fries ("SuperSize it!" Bill always says . . .) that we—well, that he—had for lunch, and part of it could be the fact that he'd just approved Mrs. William J. Clinton's trip to Beijing ("Stay a while," he said breezily. "SuperSize it!"), and another part of it could be that the family settled on Jackson Hole for its summer vacation ("Get me some new shorts!" he barked good-naturedly at George Stephanopoulos, "and SuperSize 'em!"), but I think most of it had to do with his sudden realization that we have 1996 in the bag.

In the first place, Bob Dole is pretty much a lock for the Republican ticket. So we're ahead going in. And in the second place, it looks certain that Ross Perot will join the fray. I have to be totally honest with you, Rusty—two weeks ago, I'd have bet that the little guy was going to sit this one out.

So we thought and thought: if only there was some way to goad him into running, some way to make it clear how little we fear him and how low our regard is for his importance.

"Send Mack McClarty to talk to him," Dick Morris suggested, which I said I thought was odd since McClarty had retired to Arkansas months ago, but then I was informed that he was still here, not just in the District, but here here, in the White House here, and so I scraped the egg off my face (!) and signed on. We send Mack down to Dallas—he opened for Alan Keyes, I think—and if I'm not mistaken, it was a "message received" situation.

Then, the new *Vanity Fair* came out with Gail Sheehy's article on Newt Gingrich. She serves up some pretty spicy revelations, and boy, did Bill ever

eat it up. He flipped through that issue like wildfire, pages snapping every second. "I've done that," he said at one page, "did that," at another, "did that twice," at another, and "did that, almost did that, watched that" at the final few pages, and tossed the issue aside with a resounding, "That boy better learn to SuperSize it!" A few minutes later, he was on the phone to the woman Sheehy quotes, thanking her for her "forthright honesty" and asking her if she lives in "the 202 area code." It's nice to see him connecting with voters again.

And, of course, it's nice to see him connecting with Gingrich, too. As rough as the past few months have been, I think Dick Morris is right when he says that "Gingrich in the Big House keeps Bill in the White House," so when Bill read the *Vanity Fair* article, the first thing he said was: "We can do business with him." I think Bill really noticed the parallels in their lives—you know: strong, slightly nutty moms; weird dad situations; both kind of fat. The only problem I see is that Bill is insisting on meeting the woman Sheehy interviews—"opposition research," he insists—and that sounds a little too Jimmy-Carter-scheduling-the-White-House-tennis-court to me. "Let the experts do it," I counseled.

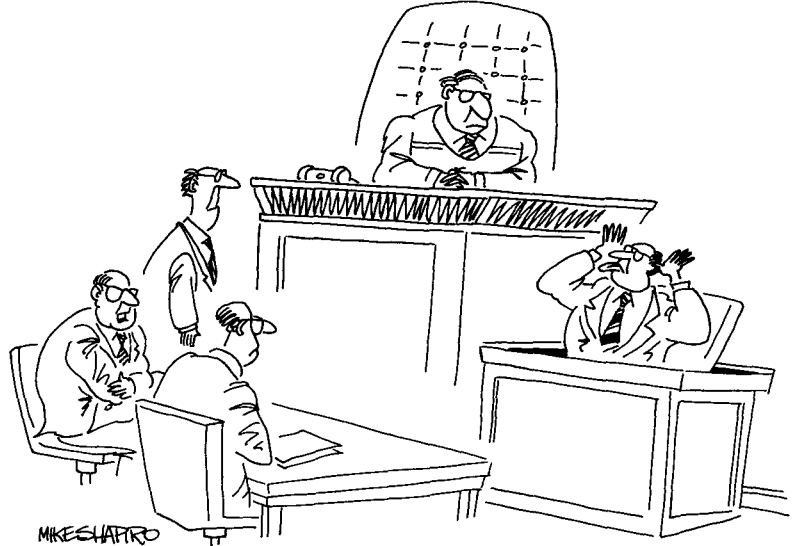
I'll admit that there were some tense moments around here when Bill Bradley announced that he was retiring from the Senate. He really tore into the current partisanship that's dividing both houses in Congress. I have to admit that I agree. Congress was much, much better a few years ago before all those Republicans got elected. But the bottom line is that he won't run against me and Bill. He's a centrist, moderate New Democrat—and there's only room for one of us on the ticket. Plus, he and Colin Powell are going to be mighty busy with their respective book tours.

So the view from here is that we're looking pretty good. About the only fly in the ointment is the Congressional Medal of Freedom campaign that Tipper wants to launch for Jerry Garcia. I'm sorry, Rusty, call me a square, but I don't think the guy who wrote "Truckin'" needs any more honors.

Gotta go! The NSC wire just blipped out a cable. Saddam Hussein is massing troops on the Kuwaiti border. Somebody up there likes us!

Your pal, Al

help!!!



HAS IT OCCURRED TO YOU, SNAVELY, THAT BEING INNOCUOUS MAY NOT NECESSARILY BE A VIRTUE



Adrift Off China

*The tiller works the rudder
In case you didn't know.
It isn't like an udder,
Nor will the vessel go
From A to B when sailers
Keep swinging it around
While swearing at the bailers
Before they run aground.*

—W. H. VON DREELE

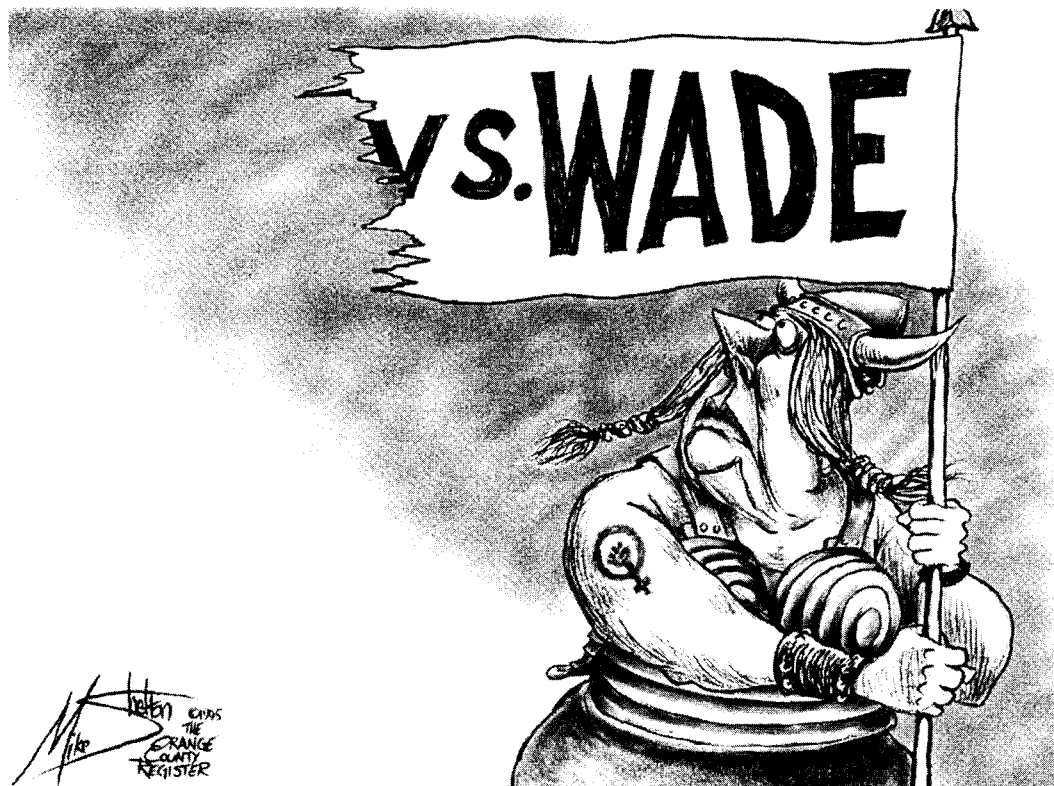


"I didn't say to empty your purse."



ROTHCO ENGLEMAN.

"This is what he looks like."



BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Brilliant—but Daft

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

MICHAEL LIND'S new book has received hosannas from almost all sides. The *New York Times* called it "a pleasure to read." The *San Francisco Chronicle* described it as "brilliantly provocative." And even reviewers who had serious reservations found much to praise, as for instance Peter Skerry in the *Wilson Quarterly*. Noting nervously that Mr. Lind echoed the arguments against American exceptionalism made by this reviewer, Mr. Skerry quickly added the reassurance that "he builds his case on a subtler, more persuasive understanding of American culture." Ah well, John Simon once saw Rex Reed described as "the thinking man's John Simon." There's always someone worse off than yourself.

Since much of what follows is hostile criticism, let it be said at once that the praise is often deserved. *The Next American Nation* is a lively, vigorous, sometimes profound, always readable essay on the nature of American identity, rich in historical references and powerfully, if perversely, argued. But it is easy for me to concede these virtues since I

The Next American Nation, by Michael Lind (Free Press, 436 pp., \$25)

agree with the book's central argument—a fast and furious assault on the definitions of American nationhood offered by the broad Left (Multicultural America) and the establishment Right (America as "Universal Nation"), and a historically grounded claim that America is a distinctive nation-state like France, Portugal, or Sweden. Given that most of the reviewers dishing out the superlatives subscribe to one of the first two theories (generally the first), the suspicion arises that they have not quite grasped Mr. Lind's point.

Admittedly, his point is exactly the kind of common-sense proposition that liberal intellectuals have the greatest difficulty in grasping: Americans are not an *idea* but something much richer—a nation with its own language, culture,

institutions, history, and sense of itself. Nor are they "a nation of immigrants," except in a trivial rhetorical sense, because they have always turned new arrivals or their children into Americans by assimilating them into the national culture. That was, of course, a two-way traffic: the bedrock Anglo-American culture has been profoundly influenced by later immigrants as well as shaping them. But what generally survived of immigrants' original culture was their religion (practiced in private), some words and phrases injected into Ameri-

can English, ethnic food, and a national day celebrated mainly by the local Democratic precinct organization.

If this concept of nationhood is difficult for intellectuals to grasp, that is perhaps because, as Peter Brimelow has argued, it renders them unnecessary. People who speak the same language (in every sense) have no need of interpreters. They can govern themselves, without an intelligentsia to mediate their conflicts. So it is significant that the theories espoused by most intellectuals deny that Americans share a taken-for-granted common identity. The Left asserts that America is composed of its constituent immigrant groups with their ethnic identities permanently intact, and the Right claims that Americans are rights-bearing individuals united only by their allegiance to the liberal political ideas in the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Lind has excellent fun mocking these pieties. He mercilessly quotes the political theorist Michael Walzer, who is so committed to multiculturalism that he advocates continued immigration as a means of *preventing* the emergence of a distinctive American identity. "In Walzer's view," Lind writes, "everyone in America should have an ethnic identity—with the exception of 'generic' Americans." Turning his guns on the "democratic universalists" of the Right, he demonstrates that all the component claims of American exceptionalism are found elsewhere: Australia, Canada, and Argentina are nations of immigrants; France has a philosophical "idea" of herself as a model nation for mankind; Britain traditionally pictured herself as the torchbearer of liberty; and so on. As for being a "universal nation," drawing upon every race and continent, America has a population that is *less* racially diverse than those of other nations in the Western hemisphere such as Brazil, and as recently as the 1960s effectively restricted non-white immigration. Sometimes, indeed, the pieties are so plainly absurd that they refute themselves. Here is an *Economist* editorial: "Provided the ideas remained intact, an America populated by Martians would still be America." As Mr. Lind drily observes: *literally* a universal nation.

None of this is to say that the real American nation is an immutable entity. Like the human personality itself, nations change significantly while some-



Roman Gem

Mr. O'Sullivan is NR's editor.

how retaining the same identity. Mr. Lind identifies the American nation as having lived three lives, changing under the impact of frontier expansion, mass immigration, war, and above all the race question. The First Republic—Anglo-America—lasted from 1789 to 1861. It was Anglo-Saxon/Germanic in nationality, Protestant in religion, and federal-republican in politics. Euro-America, which lasted from 1875 to 1957, was generically European in nationality, generically Christian in religion, and federal-democratic in its politics. And the Third Republic, in which we have been living since 1972, is Multicultural America.

This is a country in which everybody belongs to one of five official races (American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, White, Hispanic) as defined by the Office of Management and Budget in its 1973 Statistical Directive 15. This determines which Americans benefit (and which suffer) from the racial and sexual preferences now entrenched in law, business, and education. The system is, of course, a bureaucratic absurdity: the five races are arbitrary constructions which do not correspond to actual racial groups in the United States. On top of that, it is riddled with inconsistencies. Many Hispanics have never spoken Spanish, classify themselves as white on official forms, and indeed *are* white—but their own classification is overridden by the government for such purposes as drawing political boundaries. And in a wonderful piece of feminist hypocrisy, white women are considered honorary non-whites under the rules (rather as Japanese businessmen visiting apartheid South Africa were classified as honorary whites).

The religion of Multicultural America is authenticity—the fiction that each of these five races has a distinctive “culture” and that “to find yourself, you need only find your ghetto, and adopt its politics, its style of dress, and its approved beliefs about itself and humanity.” That is nonsense, of course—there is no such thing as a single Asian culture, and certainly not one shared by Afghan hill tribesmen and Pacific islanders. And where exactly do “honorary non-white” women worship? Saks? The local Jenny Craig? But it is pernicious nonsense because it reduces culture to a mere psychological appendage of race and denies the individual any right to think for himself. It

leads to such outrages as the Minnesota Minority Heritage Protection Act, “a statute passed in the 1980s that mandates same-race adoption, [under the provisions of which] a child who is 90 per cent white and 10 per cent black is *legally* ‘black,’” and to liberal attacks on Clarence Thomas as not authentically black in his legal judgments.

The political system of America’s Third Republic is multicultural democracy. This seeks to ensure that, as far as possible under the Constitution, the five races shall be proportionately represented in the political system. In practice this means gerrymandering congressional districts under the Voting Rights Act and basing politics almost entirely upon appeals to racial solidarity. This splintering of democracy into ethnic federalism is likely to get worse. Mr. Lind points out that the availability of subsidies for the invented category of “Hispanic” (as opposed to Mexican, Cuban, Argentinian, etc.) culture is now beginning to elicit a generic Hispanic identity. Here is a new development to warm the hearts of social-democratic multiculturalists like Michael Walzer: an ethnic identity, separate from the American identity, created by transfer payments.

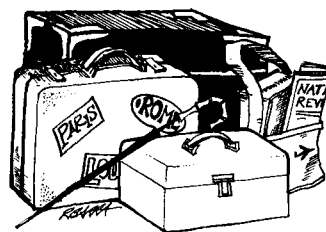
And not a moment too soon. For the problem facing Multicultural America is that, unlike the two previous American republics, it has very little popular support or legitimacy. Its only symbolic figure is Martin Luther King, who, as Mr. Lind points out, remains a “black hero” rather than a national one to most Americans, and who is increasingly eclipsed among black Americans by Malcolm X. Otherwise, it has no heroes, holidays, symbols, myths, or works of art that speak to the mass of Americans. And whenever its ruling assumptions are exposed, as when Lani Guinier’s nomination to the Justice Department highlighted her advocacy of a racially based federalism—a tediously conventional opinion in Ivy League law schools—the public rejects them indignantly and the politicians pretend to have just heard about them for the first time.

How has the American republic come to be recreated along these multicultural lines against the wishes of the real American nation? Mr. Lind’s answer is that this was accomplished by the overclass through court decisions, bureau-

cratic directives, immigration policy, and other actions that are not readily accountable to popular opinion. So far, so good. Conservatives are nodding in agreement. Have they not long complained of the imperial judiciary, of intrusive federal agencies, of “public interest” activists, all collaborating to extend old laws and invent new ones?

A LAS, that is not what Mr. Lind has in mind at all. His account of the American overclass marks a sharp left turn in his argument and, not coincidentally, a sharp decline in its persuasiveness.

He begins by announcing the importance of his analysis: “In this chapter, I present the most detailed description of the contemporary American white overclass that has appeared in print.” He defines a social class as “a group of families, united by intermarriage and a common subculture, whose members tend to predominate in certain professions and political offices, generation after generation,” and that perpetuates itself by such means as legacy preferences at Ivy League colleges. He tells us that it is “uncommon” for someone to



become a high-ranking politician, military officer, judge, or CEO “without having been born into the white overclass.” He adds that this exclusive class is also “homogeneous” in its outlook, being “liberal on social issues and conservative on economic issues.” And he retails some light social observations about overclass accents, vacations, illnesses (bulimia, co-dependency), mating practices, etc., of the kind generally found in *Vanity Fair* or *The New Yorker*.

Despite this impressive overture on his own trumpet, Mr. Lind can’t hold a tune. He makes no attempt to trace the network of family connections that he has told us constitutes the reality of the white overclass. The nearest he comes to doing so is this Big Picture stuff: “The white overclass is the child of the former Northeastern Protestant establishment, produced by marriage (not only figurative but literal) with the upwardly mobile descendants of turn-of-the-century European immigrants and white Southerners and Westerners.” Hmmnnnn. His fallback position is to suggest that Ivy League student bodies are a “good surrogate” for the

overclass's composition. Just how narrow and exclusive is this elite-in-the-making? "If you factor out black and Hispanic students admitted under affirmative action programs, you are left with [students] . . . of British or Germanic-Scandinavian Protestant and European Jewish descent." Well, that's blacks and Hispanics (who have been excluded by Mr. Lind but not by Harvard and Yale), Brits, Germans, Scandinavians, Jews, and (I would add) Asian-Americans—it's getting pretty crowded up there at the top. Any remaining exclusiveness is further diluted by the fact that, despite the importance Mr. Lind attaches to legacy preferences (which are arguably objectionable), less than a fifth of Ivy League students are admitted under such provisions. So much for "generation after generation."



SO, BY Mr. Lind's own criteria, the white overclass doesn't exist. But let us assume it does and try to discover if it has the qualities assigned to it by Mr. Lind (rather as atheist philosophers assume a God in order to discuss His attributes).

Is the overclass exclusive? Is it really "uncommon" for someone to attain a high-ranking position from outside it? Not in the least. All the studies of leadership groups in business, government, the media, the professions, the military, and public-interest groups show that they are drawn from a wide social range—all except Mr. Lind's "most detailed description of the contemporary American white overclass." Thomas Dye, in *Who's Running America?* (Prentice Hall, 1986), finds that only 30 per cent of the corporate, governmental, and civic elite in America comes from the upper class. Stanley Rothman and Robert Lerner, in their forthcoming *American Elites* (Yale University Press), find that 29 per cent of elite Americans had fathers who never finished high school. And as WFB reports (page 74), 45 per cent of top business executives in America either dropped out of college or graduated from second- or third-category colleges. There is more evidence, but it all points in the same common-sense direction: namely, that being born rich and well-connected is an advantage in getting to the top, but a great many Americans get there without it.

Is, then, the overclass "homogeneous" in its opinions, socially liberal and economically conservative? Apparently not. As Rothman and Lerner establish from an analysis of different "strategic elites" at the top of American society, those who are socially liberal tend to favor government regulation and higher taxes, while economically conservative ones lean toward moral rules in the social sphere. And this is confirmed by everyday experience. Mr. Lind's error lies in conflating the opinions of different elites—some conservative (the military, business), some liberal (the media, foundations)—and pronouncing the resulting confusion the "homogeneous" ideology of a "white overclass" that doesn't in fact exist. It would be about as sensible for a foreign observer to declare that an ideologically homogeneous United States was economically liberal and socially conservative because both views have been expressed by some Americans.

(That is not to dismiss any idea of an overclass, merely Mr. Lind's. A more cautious hypothesis might be that an overclass is developing as some of Rothman and Lerner's elites come to feel they have interests and values in common. That could be tested by inquiring as to which elites have most in common. What little evidence there is suggests a greater sense of common interest among liberal elites such as those in the media, foundations, and the federal bureaucracy than among the conservative elites in business and the military. New Class theory, which Mr. Lind absurdly dismisses as a "devil theory" positing "a shadowy behind-the-scenes elite," argues that the New Class has just such a common economic base in the knowledge industries and a common moral outlook based upon expressive liberalism. Rothman and Lerner, it should be said, are skeptical of New Class theory—but knowledgeably so.)

Meanwhile, in Mr. Lind's account, as in some overheated blend of Marxism and 1950s science fiction, the white overclass has escaped from the laboratory and is cold-heartedly but clear-sightedly manipulating the nation in its own interests by a combination of regressive taxation, free-market globalism, a "new feudalism" (e.g., school vouchers), and a division of workers along racial lines by affirmative action. It even

has its own "pod people" in the form of a client or token black and brown overclass which, of course, helps to keep the lower classes divided by wild expressions of racial mysticism. We are clearly being governed by much cleverer, if much nastier, people than any of us had ever imagined. (Why aren't we doing better against foreigners?)

Mr. Lind is clearly inebriated by the exuberance of his own Machiavellianism. But his omnipotent and malevolent white overclass is essential to his thesis because it allows him to reverse the political significance of anything he pleases. Viewed through the prism of overclass theory, affirmative action ceases to be a liberal policy and becomes a conservative stratagem for dividing the middle class; school vouchers cease to be a response to bad public schools and become a device for destroying public education generally; immigration ceases to be liberal generosity to families abroad and becomes a tactic of employers for holding down wages. In their maneuvers, furthermore, not only do these cold conservatives lack all humanity, fellow-feeling, and patriotism, but they never make a mistake. If it happened, they intended it.

This kind of thinking is deeply silly. It exhibits the professorial ruthlessness of someone who observes politics from afar, and the over-interpretation of someone who is determined to fit all the miscalculations, ambiguities, defeats, and irrational loyalties of real life into a theory in which self-interested power determines everything. All in all, it illustrates Mao Tse-tung's alleged remark that "an 8-year-old, no matter how brilliant, should never be made foreign minister."

But why cavil? By such logic an essentially conservative argument for defending the American nation against multicultural dissolution is concealed within a liberal argument for class politics and economic redistribution. Mr. Lind's two themes come together in his vision of the Fourth American Republic of Trans-America and in his proposed policy of "liberal nationalism" to bring it about.

The general concept of Trans-America will be familiar to readers of NATIONAL REVIEW, as Mr. Skerry's review hinted. But Mr. Lind's comprehensive exploration of it, as well as containing much that is original, develops it in rich and imaginative ways. It is the idea of American identity as a distinctive national identity, more cultural than eth-

MAKING BIG MONEY

by
Basil Venitis

\$12.95
Carlton Press
(212) 714-0300
(800) 266-5708

Order from your local bookstore.

This book is the hottest issue on Wall Street! The money makers are presented as the modern heroes of our times; the bureaucrats and regulators as the drones of our society. This witty book will definitely kick up a fuss. It is written from a Libertarian point of view and it is dedicated to Nelson Bunker Hunt and Michael Milken!

This is a smorgasbord of the most important money making techniques. It provides investors all knowledge needed to make sound trading decisions. It is a treasure chest of expert investing knowhow. It is a balanced book with a wide variety of topics and full of humor. It starts with some insight into the concept and power of money. Next, it reviews the financial institutions and instruments. There are special chapters on freedom, strategies, systems, commodities, portfolio management, and career management.

This is a necessary reading for every investor who wants to make his own decisions independently of advisors and brokers. It is the financial bible that will transform you to a lean trading machine, far outsmarting the pros. It will plunge you into the maelstrom of Wall Street, picking out opportunities with the facility of clairvoyance. It will unleash your full potential, dramatically enhance your trading power, and abolish your nightmares of stampeding bulls and snarling bears. It will render an answer to most investment problems you have in layman's terms. This is a book for every trader and every investor. A superstellar addition to any library.

About the Author

Basil Venitis is the hottest trader of our times, a Wall Street high roller, a futures high hitter, and the keenest economist in New York. He was the first trader to apply Chaos Theory to financial markets. That's why he is considered by many traders as the first market chaologist and the father of Chaos Trading.

nic as yet, encompassing therefore all of America's constituent races and ethnic groups, but also evolving over time—through intermarriage and the absorptive power of the common culture—into a distinctive American ethnicity. This future America would be, in Mr. Lind's neat phrase, a "trans-racial nation." He would defend it by, among other policies, abolishing racial quotas, abandoning multiculturalism, and restricting immigration.

There is enough here to have Mr. Lind convicted as a "nativist." He escapes the charge, however, by accusing other people of nativism—with characteristic topsy-turvy logic. Nativism has long been an elastic concept, but it has surely never been stretched further than in Lind's definition of the "new nativism"—"a multi-racial and somewhat ecumenical nativism" which, in the hands of such sinister figures as Richard John Neuhaus, consists of *welcoming* immigrants as allies in the fight against groups at home such as the "civil-rights overclass" and intellectuals. All very wicked no doubt, but nothing whatever to do with nativism. Mr. Lind gives even shorter shrift to those who agree with him. In its arguments and illustrations, for instance, *The Next American Nation* overlaps greatly with Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation*: their reflections on Tom Paine and immigration are almost identical. Mr. Lind's reaction was to denounce Brimelow in *The New Yorker* as the worst kind of unhyphenated nativist. This "sadism of small differences," however, preserves Mr. Lind from the suspicion that he holds the opinions he expresses. By denouncing nativism, he is able to defend American nationalism unambiguously.

Some ambiguity, however, clings to his notion of a specifically liberal nationalism. As Mr. Lind concedes in an aside, this could mean simply the doctrine justifying the trans-racial American nation with its liberal-democratic Constitution of equal rights for all Americans. As such it is compatible with a wide range of social and economic policies. But he employs it in a more political sense: under liberal nationalism the solidarity of Trans-America would be purchased by a substantial program of economic intervention and redistributive taxation. His actual list of policies—they include a "social tariff," an electoral system based on proportional representation, federal control of the professions, and of course a massive tax

hike on the overclass—is in the present political climate little more than liberal day-dreaming. But even when they are sensible, their rationale is mistaken: redistribution does not in fact produce social solidarity. It creates dependency and resentment in the recipient, and hostility in the donor.

Additionally, the revenue required for Mr. Lind's vast program would mandate tax increases on the middle class as well as on the overclass, which would tend to unite *them* against the recipients. So the end result of Mr. Lind's liberal nationalism would be to replace an ethni-

cally divided America with an America no less bitterly divided along the lines of taxpayers versus tax-eaters. Not quite what he had in mind.

In Isaiah Berlin's terms, then, Mr. Lind is both fox and hedgehog. The hedgehog, with his one big idea of a trans-racial American nation, is impressive; the fox, with his dozen different liberal panaceas, seems a daft distraction from this main point. Then I remember Mr. Skerry's wise words and reflect that, after all, Mr. Lind has "a subtler, more persuasive understanding of American culture." And politics. □

Highway to Hell?

DAVID GELERNTER

CLIFFORD Stoll's *Silicon Snake Oil* is essential reading for anyone who is devoted to the Internet, anyone who has ever gone anywhere near the Internet, or anyone who can spell "computer" without looking it up. It is entertaining, too, as essential books go. Stoll uses plain language and

Silicon Snake Oil: Second Thoughts on the Information Highway, by Clifford Stoll (Doubleday, 224 pp., \$22)

lots of examples to argue that computers and computer networks are ludicrously overvalued in modern America. The hype that surrounds them used to be funny, but no more. The computer culture, Stoll writes, "directly threatens precious parts of our society, including schools, libraries, and social institutions."

The book is interesting not only for what it says but for what it is: a watershed. Many of the scientists, academics, and software architects who created the computer culture worship two different gods who don't get along. The god of technology knows machines and mathematics and science, doesn't care about politics, and inspires relentless ambition to achieve great things, get rich, or both. The god of unconventionality embodies the carrot-cake sensibilities of the establishment dropout; he is a liberal

god, and fond of organic vegetables. The computer culture's divided loyalties account for the unmistakable yet hard-to-place oddness of its official organs—*Wired* magazine, for example, or the electronic bulletin boards you find online. What *is* that strange aroma? Tuna fish Wellington? Crêpes Suzette with salami?

It was inevitable that one day a computer wizard would arise from his keyboard with the medial carrot-cake centers of his brain (near the hypothalamus) in open revolt: "What am I doing this for? Computers aren't organic. This whole thing is a fraud." Clifford Stoll isn't merely any old computer wizard, of course. He is a distinguished astronomer, author, and technology expert. But his book speaks for the wounded sensibilities of many of the thoughtful people who made this revolution, and it speaks with intelligence, distinction, and style.

"Life in the real world," Stoll has discovered, "is far more interesting, far more important, far richer, than anything you'll ever find on a computer screen." Log onto a computer network and you will encounter a "hollow world, devoid of warmth and human kindness," a "weak substitute for dinner with my neighbors." And the online world is "hardly a tolerant and accepting neighborhood" either.

It's hard to say what Stoll's overarching thesis is. *Why* have things gone so wrong? What fundamental problems or basic categories underlie the endless examples of computer-mediated stupidity

Mr. Gelernter is a professor of computer science at Yale, a contributing editor of City Journal, and author of 1939: The Lost World of the Fair (Free Press).

he presents? How could intelligent and creative technologists have made such a mess? No response. Stoll has no patience for big theses or big pictures. His "conclusions" chapter covers one page and finishes with a rousing statement of principle: "I smell popcorn in the kitchen. I'm done meditating."

The book's strength is in the details. Stoll has drawn up a plain-spoken indictment of computers and networks on perhaps 17,000 counts of being asinine. The indictment names names, gives examples, and is devastating.

On a Vermeer painting he can admire onscreen courtesy of a Microsoft CD-ROM disk: "a picture postcard shows more detail." (Better color, too.) On the computer's many accomplishments in

the field of graphics: "I've never seen a memorable computer-generated chart." Of the computer's vaunted ability to deliver massive quantities of data: "Computers hide mistakes in logic while sanctifying information with an aura of truth."

On the design of computer hardware (for example, his modem with its row of lights marked CTS, DTR, CD): "I'm furious that engineers routinely use cryptic labels that mystify the technology and deny access to ordinary people." (And to emphasize his contempt for the cretins who use these things, the typical modem engineer always locates the on-off switch amid the tangle of wires in back.) On the design of computer software (for example, the meretricious "new features" of the latest version of Microsoft's Word): "I'm happy to sacrifice functionality for simplicity, reliability, and especially, ease of learning." Any software designer who fails to memorize that sentence by next Tuesday should have it laundry-marked by court order on his forehead.

Classroom computers, Stoll notes, are expensive, grow obsolete fast, are prone to be stolen, break down in ways teachers can't fix, compete with the teacher when they are deployed at each student's desk, and can't be seen clearly when they are not. "I'm surprised at how few scoff at these glitzy and ineffective toys." The best paragraph in the whole book deals with this topic: "I see a parallel between the goals of *Sesame Street* and those of children's computing. Both are pervasive, expensive, and encourage children to sit still. Both display animated cartoons, gaudy numbers,



and weird, random noises. . . . Both give the sensation that by merely watching a screen, you can acquire information without working and without discipline." And by the way, computers "aren't necessary for most college students" either. So there. Amen.

The indictment is set down in crunchy popcorn prose that is easy to take, pleasantly addictive, always informal, mildly monotonous. His editor shoulda told him to take out the gross colloquialisms 'n' awkward contractions ("Hey—", "Naw—", "It'd," "it'll," "who'll"). Stoll's habit of telling (often irrelevant) anecdotes about his friends at the drop of a hat is charming. He will do well as a grandfather.

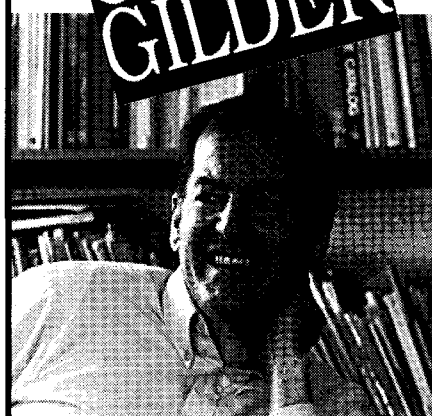
Stoll shuffles casually from topic to topic, like a prophet in bedroom slippers who would be sharper, tighter, and better organized after a cup of coffee. Occasionally he gets carried away and the indictment goes overboard. Stoll scoffs at a St. John's College plan to teach a computer language in addition to Attic Greek. "Classical Greek lent itself to the promulgation of a rich culture, indeed, to Western civilization. Computer languages bring us doorbells that chime with 32 tunes, alt.sex.bestiality [an especially scintillating network bulletin board], and Tetris clones." But as Stoll knows perfectly well, learning your first computer language is a serious business. To grasp what an algorithm is, how to express one, what makes one good and another bad, how programs get converted into working virtual machines—these are deep and fascinating intellectual projects that can hold their own against Attic Greek any day.

When he talks about computer models Stoll focuses on his dissertation project, a model of Jupiter's atmosphere. It seems he is no longer sure of his conclusions; there is no way to be certain whether his numbers are right. He turns this uncertainty into a cautionary pronouncement about computer models in general. Granted, it is inconvenient to drop by Jupiter to check out your predictions. But the bug here lies in astronomy, not computer modeling. Stoll should be more forthright about the extent to which computers have revolutionized science, by allowing researchers to model physical reality in a vastly more powerful and sophisticated way than they ever could before.

—A True Story with an Enduring Moral for Our Time—

"Get your hands on George Gilder any time you can. One of the most original, conservative thinkers you can find."
—Rush Limbaugh

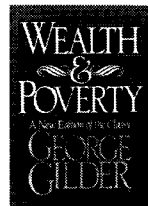
VISIBLE MAN GEORGE GILDER



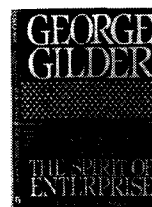
Visible Man

A copublication of **ICS PRESS**
and Discovery Institute
256 pages, \$16.95 paperback

Also available—



320 pgs., \$14.95



275 pgs., \$14.95

Get the "Gilder Set"—
all three books for only \$42.00!

Toll-free orders 1-800-326-0263, VISA/MC accepted, or send check with \$4.00 S&H for the first book, and \$1.00 each additional book to **ICS PRESS**, 720 Market Street, SC# 451, San Francisco, CA 94102. CA residents please add sales tax.

**Toll-free orders
1-800-326-0263**

But my only serious complaint is about Stoll's unwillingness to show us the big picture. I have argued (and still believe) that to understand the computer culture's dangerous potential, we need to recognize the dark feedback loop between the bad habits computers encourage and the bad habits we would cultivate anyway. It's our rotten luck

that computers have made glitz, superficiality, and ignorance so *convenient* just as glitz, superficiality, and ignorance were coming into style in a big way on their own. Computers bring out the worst in us. That's my theory.

So, OK, the book isn't perfect, and it's not the last word. It is merely incisive, fascinating, and indispensable. □

Grey Zone

ANDREW STUTTA FORD

BACK in the 1950s space aliens were a straightforward bunch. By and large, they wanted little more than world conquest. Comfortingly, they were also imaginary. To be sure, there were those who claimed to have seen UFOs, but the aliens themselves remained elusive, "space brothers" of interest only to "contactees" such as "Professor" George Adamski, a California hamburger vendor with an extensive Venusian social circle.

However, by 1992 the B-movie bogeyman had become real, moving from Hollywood to the even stranger sur-

Close Encounters of the Fourth Kind: Alien Abduction, UFOs, and the Conference at MIT, by C. D. B. Bryan (Knopf, 476 pp., \$25)

Abduction: Human Encounters with Aliens, by John E. Mack, MD (Ballantine, 464 pp., \$6.99)

roundings of a five-day conference at MIT organized by David Pritchard, an MIT physicist, and John E. Mack, professor of psychiatry at Cambridge Hospital, Harvard Medical School. A curious Courtlandt Bryan attended, and *Close Encounters of the Fourth Kind* recounts what he found. The aliens, it would appear, have been busy. The old stories of global domination have been replaced by tales of abduction "recalled" by hundreds of people and, this time, believed to be true.

Most of these recollections are strikingly similar. The luckless victims are transported to the alien craft, where they are subjected to various unpleasant medical procedures associated with

some sort of breeding program. Even worse, the aliens seem to have embraced a lunatic environmentalism worthy of our Vice President, raising once again the question of where Mr. Gore is *really* coming from. The aliens that have been seen come in a number of shapes and sizes, but, somewhat suspiciously, in the United States they mainly resemble those in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. In general they are spindly creatures, about four feet in height, grey-skinned with large, black, tear-shaped eyes. These "small greys" are often said to be supervised by a "doctor," a larger grey-skinned humanoid.

The good news, if you are over thirty, is that if you have not been abducted by now, it's not likely to happen. The aliens are said to focus on younger people, with abductions often beginning in childhood. The bad news is that you may already have been abducted but just cannot remember. The aliens, it is believed, tend to "mask" memories of abductions. It is only recently that these memories have begun to surface in significant numbers. Often the stories emerge painfully in therapy sessions such as those conducted by John Mack, sometimes, but not always, using hypnotic regression techniques. The aliens, it is claimed, have abducted hundreds of thousands of people.

Mr. Bryan himself makes little attempt to judge the phenomenon. He simply, and at times vividly, describes the conference sessions and the people he met. The book also features fairly lengthy interviews with some of the participants, as well as all too brief synopses of some of the competing theories. The broader UFO debate is also well covered in passages that range from a discussion of the tantalizing early sightings to the increasingly ornate con-

spiracy theories that now infest the field. In a book that has room for not merely one but *two* supposed UFO crashes near Roswell, New Mexico, it would have been good to hear more from the skeptics, but *Close Encounters of the Fourth Kind* provides an excellent, if somewhat uncritical, introduction to the whole subject.

The reader also benefits from the fact that, throughout, Bryan managed to retain both his sense of humor and his open mind. Told of an organization of worlds run by "Zar," he had to "fight the steadily growing conviction that [his] abductee dinner companion was crazy as a loon." He steels himself to remain nonjudgmental, for "Zar would want that."

Mr. Bryan, by his own account, wishes to believe that aliens are coming our way. As the abductees tell it, however, this may not be a pleasant experience. Their eerie stories dominate his book. In the end Bryan is not convinced that the abductees experienced extraterrestrial visitations, but he did "come away a believer in the sincerity and merit of their quest."

This must be right. Whatever it is, this phenomenon warrants serious, dispassionate investigation. Sadly, this is something that, judging by this book, it did not get at a conference that seems to have been part revival meeting, part *Geraldo*, and part public therapy. When Dr. Mack declares that "we must rethink our whole place in the cosmos," he is interrupted by a standing ovation.

Abduction, Dr. Mack's best-selling but dreadfully written book, published in 1994 and recently released in a revised paperback edition, is not much more enlightening. Here abductees tell their stories to the sympathetic Dr. Mack, who turns to metaphysics for a solution. "Western" science, we learn, "relies primarily on the physical senses and rational intellect." As such, concludes the Harvard professor, it is a "restricted way of knowing" incapable of rising to the challenge posed by the abduction experience. Well, of course. Something about the way Dr. Mack uses the word "Western" signals that he is going to come to that conclusion.

John Mack moves quickly. He started meeting abductees in 1990. By April 1992 he was in India discussing these matters with "Tibetan leaders." A month or two later he told the MIT conference that he had "kind of moved away from trying to persuade the main-

Mr. Stuttaford recently visited Roswell, New Mexico—by car.

stream culture of the validity of this phenomenon." If his scientific forebears had shown such perseverance, we would still be living in caves.

Dr. Mack is careful to state that he is not "presuming that everything [the abductees] say is literally true." Nevertheless he writes of his "growing conviction about the authenticity of these reports . . . No plausible alternative explanation . . . has been discovered." He forgets, however, that these are early days in the exploration of this phenomenon. Alternative explanations, if not as yet entirely satisfactory ones, already abound. It seems, for example, that acute psychotic episodes and temporal-lobe dysfunction can produce impressions akin to those recalled by an abductee, albeit without the generally flimsy corroboration that sometimes exists in the abduction cases.

It is also necessary to look at the relationship between the abductee and his or her therapist. Dr. Mack is clearly sensitive to this point, which he discusses at increased length in the revised, and more cautious, version of his book. Interestingly, a good number of the "hypnosis" or "regression" sessions featured in the original edition are now described as "relaxation" sessions, while some patients' "trances" have become "altered states of consciousness."

Dr. Mack would disagree, but these are, one suspects, distinctions without much of a difference, in which case the "reality status" (to use his phrase) of the abductees' memories must be even more questionable. In 1985 the American Medical Association's Council on Scientific Affairs warned that "recollections obtained during hypnosis not only fail to be more accurate but actually appear to be generally less reliable than recall." Hypnosis does, however, appear to increase the subject's confidence that something real is being remembered, whether or not it be the case.

Many abductee stories are uncannily similar to one another, something that struck Dr. Mack from the beginning. Charles Mackay, the splendidly acerbic author of *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (1841), would not have been so surprised. Writing of medieval witchcraft trials, he noted that "the great resemblance between the confessions of the unhappy victims was regarded as a new proof . . . but this is not astonishing . . . the same

questions . . . were put to them all, and torture never failed to elude the answer required by the inquisitor."

"Relaxation" with the undoubtedly kind-hearted Dr. Mack is far removed from a torture session in a European dungeon. Nevertheless the question remains. Do abduction therapists somehow "lead" their patients into giving, consciously or otherwise, the sort of answers the patients think their therapists want to hear? Dr. Mack appears to concede that this could occur, but not in his sessions, even if they sometimes are, as he puts it, "co-creative."

If the impact of "co-creativity" on a "memory" is uncertain, what is the effect of that memory on the rememberer? This is a crucial difference between the UFO controversy and the abduction controversy. The existence of UFOs is generally no more than a fascinating mystery, even to those who may have seen them. However, for those who believe that they, and sometimes their children as well, are being repeatedly abducted for use in an alien breeding experiment, it is difficult to argue that life must simply go on. The therapist who encourages or sustains these beliefs is taking on a heavy responsibility, particularly given the somewhat fragile personalities of some of the abductees. Dr. Mack had two boys under age 3 in his own group of interviewees.

Ominously it was only on the last day of the MIT conference that these issues seem to have been discussed at any length. "We must," said one therapist, "be able to demonstrate . . . that what we are doing is reasonable, safe, and effective." This comment did not, apparently, merit a standing ovation. In fact, not only the abductees but the whole abduction mystery begs, in the words of David Pritchard, "for a careful and multidisciplinary investigation." To John Mack, however, this would be just "fussing over whether we have got something real here."

As Jung noted in *his* book on UFOs, "the Middle Ages . . . live on merrily." In an increasingly irrational and anti-scientific America, "fussing" about what is real is just what is needed, although it will probably end up telling us more about ourselves than about any extraterrestrial visitors. The alternative will not take us to the stars, but it might take us to Salem. □

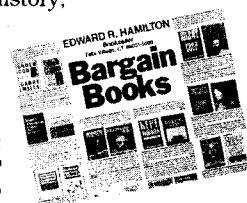


Bargain Books

**America's Biggest Selection
at up to 80% savings!**

- Publishers' overstocks, remainders, imports, reprints, starting at \$3.95.
- Thousands of titles, hundreds of new arrivals each month!
- Beautiful art and nature books: yesterday's best sellers, rare, unusual, fascinating books for every interest.
- Over 40 subject areas: **Politics**, Biography, History, Fiction, Science, Cooking, Gardening, more.

**Free
Catalog**



Please send me your Free Catalog of Bargain Books.

Name _____

Address _____

City / State / Zip _____

HAMILTON

Box 15-137, Falls Village, CT 06031

AUTHORS WANTED

A well-known New York subsidy book publisher is searching for manuscripts. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry, juvenile, travel, scientific, specialized and even controversial subjects will be considered. If you have a book-length manuscript ready for publication (or are still working on it), and would like more information and a free 32-page booklet, please write:

VANTAGE PRESS, DEPT. DA-9
516 W 34 St., New York, NY 10001

NATIONAL REVIEW

READERS' SERVICE

If you have an inquiry about your subscription, would like to change your address, or would like to order a gift subscription, please call our readers' service representatives at
(815) 734-1232

Please call between 7:00 A.M. and 10:00 P.M. Eastern Standard Time

FILM

Fishman and Netwoman

JOHN SIMON

KEVIN Costner's *Waterworld* is the costliest and Costnerest movie ever made: about \$175 million plus another \$25 million for advertising and such. At the thought of the humanitarian goals achievable with that kind of dough, this mega-doughnut is enough to sink your stomach. Two hundred mil for the biggest millstone this side of *Batman Forever*! Even if we could suspend our disbelief, what are we to do with our dismay? From the opening voiceover relating or recapping that the polar icecaps have melted, turning the world into one huge ocean, the survivors having to start from scraps and mother wit, absurdity is upon us. Given the cooling of the sun, predicated but unstated, what melted those icecaps? Perhaps at the news of Costner's folly, they dissolved in tears.

We are on an unbroken expanse of water, over which the Mariner (Costner) sails his spiffy trimaran made of discards and ingenuity. Sometimes it has an underwater hull for sleeping quarters and storage; the rest of the time we see no such thing. How could this hull be attached? How could a sail, even such a colorful one, drag a hulled trimaran forward at better than a snail's pace—a land snail's, at that?

This Mariner, as he is called, looks like an ordinary Kevin Costnerish man, save for the gills behind his ears, good for breathing underwater or if one is wet behind them. Oh, he also has webbed feet, not like those of an ordinary goose or frog, but like thin, flesh-colored mittens. The Mariner is never explained: we don't know whence he sprang or whether there are others like him. One hopes not: one Costner with pony tail, shell earrings, gills looking like displaced vulvas, and mittened toes is enough for any world, watery or waterlogged. He climbs up and down the mast with a speed that, given his webbed toes, is

staggering. Perhaps there is—besides the piscine, anserine, or batrachian—something simian about him as well.

We first see him urinating into a Rube Goldberg contraption; when the urine comes out at the other end refined into potable water, he merrily drinks it. Yet later, when two females, the beautiful Helen and her little ward, Enola, hitch a ride with him, he declares that, because of a shortage of drinking water, Enola will have to be heaved overboard. Are these girls unable to urinate? How does Mariner manage what looks like conventional sex with Helen? But "how" is one question never raised in this scenario by Peter Rader and David Twohy—two amnesiacs, I presume. One amnesiac per screenplay is standard Hollywood procedure; two may be a luxury even the most moneyed movie can't afford.

The Mariner is a peddler in ocean-bottom dirt, whose provenance no one questions. A survivor, he easily weathers the attack by a flotilla of Smokers who ride jet skis in formation and are the marauders of *Waterworld*. They also smoke incessantly, having an endless supply of all our brands of cigarettes. Why those multitudinous seas that had no trouble engorging continents should have boggled at Marlboros remains as unelucidated as the connection between lawlessness and smoking, unless the scenarists are asthmatics as well as amnesiacs. The Mariner arrives at the Atoll, a floating scrap heap which now passes for a city. Its seemingly law-abiding citizens are infiltrated by

Smokers, however, and the Mariner is about to be executed on a rigged charge when the Smokers' flagship, a supertanker commanded by their sneering, sadistic chief, the Deacon (Dennis Hopper, yet again), attacks and, apparently, conquers the Atoll. The storytelling in *Waterworld* is so muddled, lacking terra firma to stand on, that I affirm nothing.

Everyone, good or evil, is looking for

dry land, rumored to exist but undiscovered even by the Smokers with their jet skis (for which fuel is never lacking) and their airplane, which, though decrepit, is fully functional. Everyone, accordingly, is after Helen's mysteriously orphaned and disgustingly precocious ward, the 9-year-old Enola, on whose back is tattooed the map pointing to land. This so-called map, though, is only a stylized representation of a compass, and how it could lead to land—and why there should be any if those polar meltdowns did their job—only the screenwriters could have told us, but they manifestly can no longer remember. Finally, someone figures out that Enola has to be held upside down for the tattoo to work—how and why is entirely beyond my (or any) compass.

Pursued by the Deacon, Enola and Helen escape with the Mariner, who takes them along because Helen saved him from being recycled, i.e., marinated in especially unappetizing yellow mud. But why on earth, or on water, am I telling you all this hogwash? Two further specimens should suffice. Enola is always drawing graffiti of horses and things on any available surface, even during attacks by the Smokers. The Mariner gets so mad when she decorates the trimaran with her art work—and also at Helen for overprotectively objecting to Enola's being tossed overboard—that he takes out his long knife and punishes them. With a couple of slashes—snickersnee!—he administers haircuts to both, leaving them with coiffures to turn a Frederic Fekkai or Oribe chartreuse with envy.

Better yet, when the Smokers are about to catch them, the Mariner, with Helen in his arms, dives to safety. Helen has one small worry: How will she breathe underwater? The Mariner calms her, "I'll breathe for both of us." Submerging, Costner clamps his lips to the pretty Jeanne Tripplehorn's in a kind of mouth-to-mouth presuscitation as mutant and maiden vanish into the vasty deep.

There must have been trouble on the set, with the director, Kevin Reynolds, and his star and supplanter parting company in, as it were, midstream. (This happened on their previous joint film, too.) But, unaffected by the battle of Kevins, the costume designer, John Bloomfield, must have had fun designing such things as the Mariner's salmon-skin jacket and braided mahi-mahi pants, which is what you get when you



Mr. Simon is NR's film critic.

cross a fish with a couturier. Helen is dressed in an aquatic version of the classic comic-strip style—laced-up, curve-enhancing, bosom-cantilevering—timelessly favored by maidens in distress from Prince Valiant to Flash Gordon days. It has the added virtue of coming off in a trice when a lady wants to offer herself naked to a rescuer. And by way of a score, James Newton Howard has composed some dreadful New Age water music, most likely based on scales of the fishy kind.

■ The title of *The Net* refers both to the Internet and to the meshes in which it entraps the heroine of Irwin Winkler's film. Angela Bennett (Sandra Bullock) is a computer troubleshooter for a San Francisco company who lives near Los Angeles, reclusively. For four years now she has been ordering her food and drink via the same computer that provides her with employment and entertainment. That, admittedly, is stretching it, as is much else in John Brancato and Michael Ferris's script. The cards are even further stacked by the exquisite Angela's having no friends and only two love affairs in her distant past: one in high school, and one with her married former therapist.

Inadvertently, while working on her computer, she stumbles on the Praetorians, cybernetic pirates who have infiltrated the Internet with a program that can control everything from the Federal Government to air traffic, from Wall Street to the FBI. As the film begins, they have just driven a high-ranking government official to suicide by smuggling homosexuality and AIDS into his ID.

When Angela goes off on a long-overdue vacation to Mexico, taking along

the disk that led to her fateful discovery, she is promptly wooed and seduced by a dashing Englishman, Jack Devlin (Jeremy Northam), the very embodiment of her dream, "Captain America meets Albert Schweitzer." Needless to say, he is the Praetorians' hit man. Escaping his lethal clutches, she returns Stateside, only to find her identity erased from all computerized records; instead, with picture, fingerprints, and vital statistics, she has been turned into Ruth Marx, a drug dealer and prostitute. She cannot turn to the police, who are after her; her mother, suffering from Alzheimer's, cannot identify her; neighbors have only glimpsed her from afar. Meanwhile Jack and his henchmen are out to get her disk (since accidentally destroyed) or, failing that, her. She is on the run.

The film moves along derivatively and predictably, pedestrianly directed by Irwin Winkler, a better producer than he is a director. (His two previous directorial ventures were resounding fiascos.) But it does generate some excitement, partly because the pursuit of a human being through real space is matched by a chase through cyberspace. Good and evil fighting each other on the small screen are zeroed in on by the big screen. There is tracking by guns with silencers and by hackers with software. Curiously, the Internet and, ultimately, the PC itself are perceived as more of a menace than a benefit to mankind. Yet, paradoxically, the movie depends on them for whatever originality it has. No matter, though: it also possesses Sandra Bullock, whose unforced acting, sprightly charm, and ingenuous sexiness are enough to make any movie eminently watchable. □

MUSEUMS

Devolution

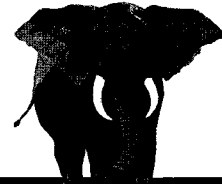
JAMES GARDNER

DINOSAURS, it seems, have changed more in the past twenty years than in the previous 200 million. First of all they are not, as you may have heard, extinct. Through a neat act of clerical redefinition, birds, once thought to be de-

scended from dinosaurs, have now become dinosaurs. Then the reptile formerly known as Brontosaurus, or Thundering Lizard, has been renamed Apatosaurus, that is, Deceiving Lizard,

Mr. Gardner is NR's art critic.

THE ELEPHANT STAMPEDE



The Race to '96

Read the great new book detailing the strategies, biographies and positions of the '96 GOP presidential candidates.

Only \$14.95 + s/h

ELEPHANT STAMPEDE PUBLICATIONS
P.O. Box 1064 Burnsville, MN 55337
1-800-464-6727

FREE TO CHOOSE
BUDGET WEST
STAFF PICK
J. K. ROLAND'S AMERICAN
FURNITURE & HOMES
THE SECRET PLACES
ATLAS SHROUDS
DAVID KENN
THE BOOK OF PROSPERITY
BRIAN
Wealth and Poverty
A HISTORY BEHIND JEW
THE SCIENCE OF THE UNIVERSE

AUDIO BOOKS

- Rentals by mail
- All Unabridged
- Huge Selection
- 100% Guarantee

BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS
Dept. NR • P.O. Box 969 • Ashland OR 97520

For a **FREE** Catalogue, Write or Call:
1-800-729-2665

Government: America's #1 Growth Industry

How the Relentless Growth of Government is Impoverishing America

Stephen Moore

Published by
The Institute for Policy Innovation

"The growth of government is now big and dangerous. American government has become."
—Forbes

96 pp. 80+ charts & graphs
\$9.95 & \$1.50 postage

Credit card orders call:

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
1-800-326-0996

a point upon which paleontologists insist with great solemnity, concealing the fact that the change is mostly one of labeling. Everything from the size to the speed and posture of these big chaps has been called into question, and the truculent certitude of yore has yielded to pandemic doubt.

The center of such revisionism is the American Museum of Natural History, which, amid much fanfare, has just reopened its Hall of Dinosaurs after many years of renovation. Given the \$12 million that went into the restoration, one almost feels that the curators insisted on these changes

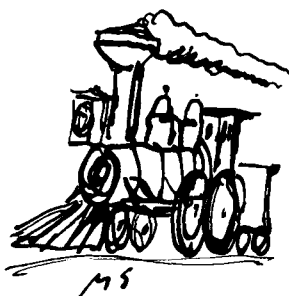
largely in order to have something to show for the vast expense of time and money. The new section comprises two main halls, one for the Saurischians and the other for the Ornithischians, arranged according to the principles of cladistics. This classification stresses shared characteristics such as grasping hands or backward-pointing pubis bone, rather than chronology as in the past.

Unfortunately, it will be very difficult for anyone to see the present exhibition with real pleasure. The museum demonstrates the same questionable judgment that I remarked on in these pages several months ago apropos of the Smithsonian's new Museum of the American Indian: the spaces are cramped labyrinths abounding in verbiage, written and recorded, which thoroughly swamps the objects on display. There are more ramps and slopes and alcoves in the cluttered rooms than you will find on a miniature golf course.

But the real problem here is children. With all the fervor of Muslims at Ramadan pressing upon the altar of the Kaaba, they come by the busloads from their schools in the winter and their camps in the summer to look at the dinosaurs and the elephants and the big blue whale. And the museum is ready for them. Cutesy dinosaur footprints lead from everywhere in the museum to the new fourth-floor displays. Once you get there, you find yourself at the Dino-store, which purveys all the lemon- and grape-colored stuffed dinosaurs you will ever really need, not to mention socks, baseball caps, ties (for Dad), pencil sharpeners, games, and coloring books. Once you reach the actual display, you will find video games throughout pos-

ing as information centers—imparting the message that science is fun.

Granted, the American Museum of Natural History has not yet sunk to the depths of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, which has become a cross between a theme park and a day-care center. But it is on its way. This is evidenced in the newly opened Hall of Human Life, whose candy-colored array of flashing lights has the appearance of a pinball machine at tilt, as well as a recent exhibit on spiders, which, with its big mock-ups of spiders and its goofy captions, could not have held the attention of anyone over 8 years old.



It was not always so. Once upon a time the American Museum of Natural History, like London's Natural History Museum, the Smithsonian, and the Franklin Institute, was an augustly Victorian structure whose wares were displayed in glass cases with very few distractions. Now this is no longer possible, the tendency in museology being to show ever fewer objects with ever more commentary.

One had expected more from this renovation, especially since the Hall of

Mammal Evolution, which was completed a year ago, was so sober and successful and, despite its glinty post-modernity, perfectly matched to the Victorian architecture. The transformation of the corner turret into a silo of living light opening onto Central Park remains perhaps the most brilliant architectural coup de théâtre in many years. Unfortunately there is nothing of the sort about the new exhibitions, which have created an entangled chaos where formerly there was order.

On seeing them, one cannot help longing for what has been lost, for the museum of Teddy Roosevelt and Holden Caulfield, rather than the faintly vulgar spectacle that is gradually taking its place. As the American Museum of Natural History, now celebrating its 125th anniversary, prepares a massive expansion in the next millennium, it must take care to preserve, and where necessary to recreate, that older sobriety. It should have more temporary exhibitions, as art museums do, and it should hold them to as high a standard as does the Metropolitan Museum. Above all, it must resist the creeping contagion of infantilism that has turned the Franklin Institute, once a venerable temple of science, into a pitiable, paltry waste of time. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Blackford Oakes Reader, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Andrews & McMeel, 270 pp., \$18.95)

NOW that the Cold War is fading into memory, the real heroes who fought and won it for the West—among whom William F. Buckley Jr. is preeminent—will eventually be forgotten (if, indeed, the good that men do is interred with their bones). But what may live on are the stories; and there is no better collection of these tales than the ten Blackford Oakes novels that Buckley has written. He has always brushed aside the significance of these books (nine of which were best-sellers) with amusing anecdotes about the financial remuneration he anticipated from writing them. But the probable truth is that these books had some impact on the course of the War, not merely because they outlined what was at stake, but because they are enormously entertaining and therefore easy

to digest. What good fortune, then, that some of the best parts of these stories have now been collected in *The Blackford Oakes Reader*, where they are sure to endure. The *Reader* is a collage of portraits of characters from the novels, including the young German Count Axel Wintergrin, the idealistic Henri Tod, and the superspy himself, Blackford Oakes. These heroes are unabashedly good and the cause they fight for is just, which may make some jaded sophisticates uneasy. But for the rest of us, they are mythic heroes like Patroclus, Nestor, and Achilles, who will be proudly remembered in place of the true heroes they represent, many of whom were and are unknown to the general public. For forty years, Bill Buckley ruled as his demesne the windswept landscape of the intellectual World War. How extraordinary that he should have remembered to humanize it as well. And that he should have been so good at it.

—ANDREW OLIVER II

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Real Estate

LOVE LIFE! Wake up to the majestic mountains in Colorado where you find clear air, cool breezes, sunshine in the winter, plentiful deer and elk, spectacular views, massive pine trees, and friendly people. 35+ acres for \$39,000. Call Ed at Land Properties, Inc. 800-495-2526.

FOR SALE: LOVELY 2-bedroom cottage in White Lake, N.Y. Full lake use. Private dock. 914-583-5530.

ADIRONDACK MOUNTAINS—5 bedroom year-round waterfront home on 5.17+ acres. \$325,000. HN REALTY, Piercefield, N.Y. 800-631-3166.

FOR SALE: REMOTE 4-UNIT fishing and hunting lodge. 3-bedroom home, storage buildings, shop. Electricity, city water, and sewer. 5 boats, 6 motors. Much potential. 907-294-2252.

WESTERN COLORADO 1,500 acre ranch. Trophy hunting, cattle, timber, adjudicated water, air strip, 2,700 square-foot Executive home. Call Bob, 800-950-9299. Realtor.

Hotels

NEW YORK CITY THE BEDFORD HOTEL

118 East 40th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10016
(Between Park and Lexington Aves.)

Here is the "great small hotel" you look for in a big city . . . beautifully decorated rooms and suites and friendly attentive service combine to offer you total comfort at an ideal mid-Manhattan location. Fully equipped kitchenettes are available.

Ask About Discount Rates
For National Review Readers

Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)

FAX (212) 697-1093

Restaurant—Cocktail Lounge

Clinical Services

SPASMODIC TORTICOLLIS RECOVERY CLINIC. 2528 Camino Estribo, Santa Fe, N.M. 87505.

Professional Services



PUT BILL CLINTON TO WORK FOR YOU!

Hire the Country's best Bill Clinton impersonator for your next corporate, political or private function.

- Looks like the President
- Sounds like the President
- More comical than the President

800-699-PRES

REAL ESTATE CONSULTANT and problem solver. R. Pellicane, Esq.: 516-283-7200. 35 years experience.

NO CHARGE. ARTIST is offering prints of original watercolor, 8" x 10"; each accompanied by original, handwritten poem. Fax request: 702-734-6369.

Financial

LET THE GOVERNMENT FINANCE your small business. Grants/loans to \$500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270. (KH7).

PROPERTY TAX SAVINGS KIT. Save \$\$! Free Info: PTS, Box 6533-R, Vacaville, Calif. 95696-6533.

Organizations

LOOKING TO FORM Chicago area Conservative organization. If interested, please write to: NR Box 2315.

Literary

Thomas Sowell's Dramatic Attack

Pub. Price \$25.00

Our Price

\$19.95

Postpaid

*

Toll Free

800-326-0996

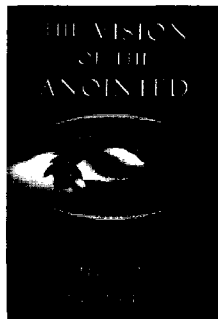
or Fax

415/541-0597

*

Free

Book List



LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Dept. NRO, 938 Howard St, Ste 202,
San Francisco, CA 94103

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK!

Join our satisfied authors in a complete and reliable publishing program. This program includes attractive books, publicity, advertising and quality service since 1959. All subjects are invited! Send for a FREE manuscript evaluation & copy of *How to Publish Your Book*.

CARLTON PRESS

11 W. 32nd St. Dept. NRU
New York, NY 10001

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED. Subsidy Publisher with 75-year tradition. Call 800-695-9599.

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send \$2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

THE BILL & HILLARY JOKE BOOK, \$5.95 (plus \$1.50 s/h) to: Peroxide Press, Dept. NR, 19 Carleton, Newburyport, Mass. 01950. (Mass. residents add 5% tax).

OUT-OF-PRINT books located. Whitted, P. O. Box 603-R, Fairmont, N.C. 28340.

NEWSLETTER FOR OBJECTIVE THINKERS. For sample, send stamp to: Box 16247, Denver, Colo. 80216.

LYTTON EDITORIAL SERVICES—Evaluation, editing, and marketing of public affairs writing. 34 years experience. Free brochure. 335 Lavina, Sandpoint, Idaho 83864.

CONSERVATISM WITH A CLASSIC TOUCH! Read *The Kithara*—Sample \$2. P. O. Box 1941, Lake Oswego, Oregon 97035.

Religion

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

Educational Opportunities

* Languages *

Over 100 different foreign and Native American self study languages for adults and children, cassettes, CD's, videos, computer programs, translators.

Audio Language Institute FREE COLOR CATALOG

1202 Lexington DEPT 272-N1

New York, New York 10128

800.722.6394 x61



LEARN MORE **SPANISH**
◆ WORLD NEWS MONTHLY
◆ INTERMEDIATE-LEVEL SPANISH
◆ GLOSSARY IN EVERY ISSUE
◆ FREE GRAMMAR GUIDE W/ ORDER
◆ \$25 PER YEAR (12 ISSUES)
ALSO: GERMAN QUARTERLY: \$25/YR
EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
PO Box 60478-NR, FLORENCE, MA 01060

FREE 1-800-600-4434
BROCHURE SPANISH@EDNEWS.COM

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

"4 YEARS WITHOUT A PRESIDENT IS LONG ENOUGH": Bumper Stickers, red & blue on white. \$3 each. 2/\$5, 6/\$10, 15/\$20. Cash, check, money order to: Patriot Productions, P.O. Box 15128, Loves Park, Ill. 61132-5128.

TELL CLINTON "IT'S THE PRESIDENCY, STUPID!" 202-456-1414. "Clinton Happens"; "Just DOLE It! in 1996": All 3 bumper stickers for \$5 (or \$3 each). Cash, check, money order to: R. L. Canary, P. O. Box 7368, Clearwater, Fla. 34618-7368.

"POLITICALLY INCORRECT . . . AND LOVING IT!": Bumper stickers, \$2 each, 3/\$5, 10/\$10. Full list on request. Cryptic Press, One Riverdale Avenue, Suite 452, Bronx, N.Y. 10463.

"NEWT '96": Bumper stickers, \$3 each, 6/\$10. Cash, check, money order to: R&J Productions, P. O. Box 247, Harrisonburg, Va. 22801.

"DOWNSIZE GOVERNMENT EVERYWHERE. CUT SPENDING ACROSS THE BOARD"; "STOP OVER-GOVERNING": Free bumper stickers. Dave Polewka, P. O. Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

Vacation Rentals

LONDON APARTMENTS. 6 Private Central London flats. 2 Flats with Maids/Butler. From \$650 per week. Thomas Moore, Owner: 801-393-9120. Fax: 801-393-3024. Specializing in Holiday and Business Travel.

MAUI—IDYLLIC OCEANFRONT condo. One-bedroom, fully furnished. \$490 weekly. 818-796-3451.

Friendship, Etc.

Single and Christian?

Wondering if you'll ever meet the right person? Tired of wasting time, energy and money on dates? Would you like to meet someone who shares your values? **NOW YOU CAN!!!**



Call TOLL FREE for FREE information
1-800-505-0505, Ext. 224

*Among
Friends*

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

EXPRESS MAIL TO RUSSIA—\$1. Guaranteed Mail Service, P. O. Box 321-NR, Florham Park, N.J. 07932. 201-593-0471.

GORGEOUS ASIAN WOMEN! Romance, Correspondence, Lifemates! P.I.C., Box 461873-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. 213-650-1994.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, a national service, has been getting unattached people together since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 610-358-5049.

MEET YOUR DREAMGIRL! Lovely Asians, Latinas seek sincere gentlemen. Private. Select. Guaranteed. Free world-famous catalogue. 215-329-7744. SIMPATICA, 1657 Fairway, Rydal, Pa. 19046.

MEET SOUTH/CENTRAL AMERICAN LADIES! Catalogues, videos, tours. Free foto-brochure! T.L.C., P. O. Box 924994-NR, Houston, Texas 77292-4994. 713-896-9224.

BEAUTIFUL RUSSIAN WOMEN. Free 500-photo catalogue. 24 hours toll free: 800-434-1105. Fax 407-968-7328. Anastasia Contact Club.

OVERSEAS WOMEN! Asian Experience, Box 1214NV, Novato, Calif. 94948. 415-897-2742.

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE. Free 32-page photo catalogue! Correspondence service since 1974. Cherry Blossoms, 190NR Rainbow Ridge, Kapaa, Hawaii 96755. 408-980-7488.

LETTER WRITERS CLUB. Intriguing hobby! All ages nationwide! L.W.C., P. O. Box 277, Sandy, Utah 84091.

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & ELIGIBLE BRITISH GENTLEMEN seek friendship, romance & marriage with Americans! All ages! Free details: English Rose Introduction Agency (Dept. NR), 24 Cecil Square, Margate, Kent CT9 1BA, England. Tel/Fax: 011-44-1843-290735 (24 hrs).

Russian Ladies, truly beautiful, educated, are sincerely seeking relationships
2000 Ladies selected from over 50,000.
FREE COLOR PHOTO BROCHURE
EUROPEAN CONNECTIONS
Dept. 238 • P.O. Box 888851
Atlanta, GA 30356 FAX 770-451-5774
PHONE (770) 458-0909 24 HOURS
— EXCITING MOSCOW TOURS AVAILABLE —



ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707.

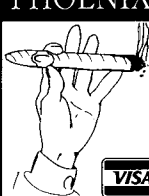
JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific, #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

RUSSIA, EUROPE, USA, CANADA, etc.: Correspond with sincere, professional men and women worldwide, for friendship and more. SCANNA International, P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170. On Worldwide Web: <http://www.scanna.com/>

LOVELY INTERNATIONAL LADIES want penpals seeking friendship or marriage. Free photo catalogue. The #1 Discount Service. Fil/Am Int'l Correspondence, P.O. Box 5517-NR, Apache Junction, Ariz. 85278-5517. 602-983-1963.

Cigars

PHOENIX TOBACCONIST
PURVEYORS OF FINE CIGARS
Imports - Connecticut Broad Leaf
We'll Sell Box or Individually
  Springfield, MA
1-800-731-8322



CUBAN CIGAR COMPANY, Miami, Florida. We hand make the cigars we sell. 800-207-7771.

For Sale

WHITEWATER COLOGNE? It stinks but it's worth it. Rush \$12.95 (\$21.95 for 2) to: Whitewater Cologne, Box 871, Miami, Fla. 33116-0871.

DISCOUNT HOME/OFFICE EQUIPMENT. At <http://www.cyberonix.com/> Or call 800-474-8970.

Personal

ATTRACTIVE, LAID-BACK, Catholic female, late twenties, seeks male pen pal. I like books, movies, cool forests. NR Box 2316.

ROMANTIC, RETIRED, divorced white male surgeon, 54, conservative with elan, seeking new adventures and an exciting, sophisticated woman, 40's, to share them. NR Box 2308.

U.S. ARMY 07'S WIDOW seeks new view of kaleidoscopic sunrises/sunsets. Fundamental Christian, independent, personable, gem of a right hand; a skilled magnate-level "office wife," she desires position satisfying her benevolent, adventurous, and romantic spirit. Sterling references exchanged. NR Box 2312.

TLC NEEDED by white male, non-smoker, non-drinker. Wishes to meet gal with decent figure and sense of humor. Please reply with pix to: Box 382772, Germantown, Tenn. 38183.

Business Opportunities

GET PAID for reading books! \$100 per book. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing (Dept. C-775), 500 South Broad, Meriden, Conn. 06450.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: \$4.00 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 times, \$3.75 per word; 6 times, \$3.50 per word; 8 or more times, \$3.25 per word.

NR Box Numbers: \$10 additional (one-time only charge). Responses forwarded by 1st-class mail. Send to: NR Box _____, c/o Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, \$200 per column inch; 4 times, \$185 per column inch; 8 times, \$170 per column inch; 10 or more times, \$150 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to NATIONAL REVIEW), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330

Restrictions: The primary function of the Classified section is to facilitate one of the essential mechanisms of the free marketplace by bringing together willing buyers and willing sellers. However, NR may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of NR's editorial position.

**Buy Stuff! Sell Stuff!
Learn Stuff!**

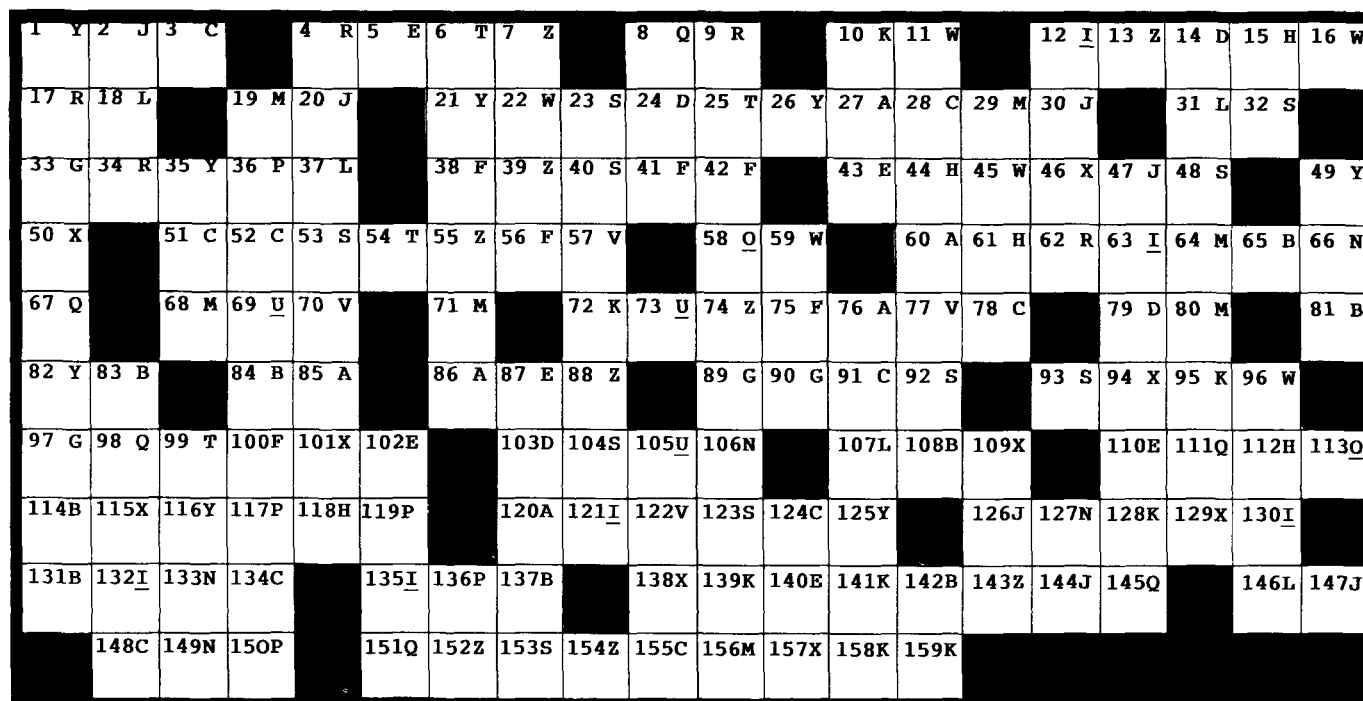
**Find a House! Find a Friend! Find Love!
Get a Job! Get a Publisher! Get a Life!**

GET RESULTS!!

**ADVERTISE IN
NATIONAL REVIEW'S
CLASSIFIED SECTION**

"It's Right as Rain" (and just as vital)

TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS

- | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| A. Certify by oath | 60 86 85 76 120 27 | N. Lawrence Walsh's first quarry | 66 133 127 106 149 |
| B. Split, divide into two | 81 65 131 108 114 142 84 83 137 | O. She was tormented by a gadfly | 113 58 |
| C. Without spot | 28 134 91 155 51 3 124 52 148 78 | P. One's own place or corner | 119 117 36 136 150 |
| D. Donation | 14 79 24 103 | Q. A second legal marriage | 111 151 67 98 8 145 |
| E. Wise warrior, celebrated in Parthenon rites | 140 102 87 5 43 110 | R. Common anesthetic | 17 4 34 9 62 |
| F. Pot smokers with political ambitions should not do this | 75 42 38 41 56 100 | S. Tortured Titan | 53 23 32 40 43 93 104 92 123 153 |
| G. Cicero, Blackstone expounded upon them | 97 90 33 89 | T. First Semite (Gen. 10:22), or ancient Asian city (Gen. 14:1, 9) | 25 6 54 99 |
| H. Plated garb or covering | 44 61 112 118 15 | U. Enclave of Deweyites, or Jesse Helms's vexation | 69 73 105 |
| I. Nervous tremor | 12 63 135 121 130 132 | V. Jefferson's choice for national emblem | 70 122 77 57 |
| J. Offend, aggrieve | 126 147 20 47 2 30 144 | W. No longer fertile | 16 59 11 22 45 96 |
| K. Wee beasties | 95 128 139 141 10 72 158 159 | X. He died of self-esteem | 101 115 109 157 94 129 50 46 133 |
| L. Sprout (e.g., of bamboo) | 18 37 107 146 31 | Y. Inordinate desire for wealth | 26 82 21 49 125 35 116 1 |
| M. Every performer's desire | 29 64 68 80 71 19 156 | Z. Running over with enthusiasm | 88 55 39 74 7 143 13 152 154 |

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Trans-O-Gram. DONALD LAMBRO: *Lousy Idea*: "A plan to have the government create a national identification registry aimed at fighting illegal immigration should send a shudder through anyone concerned about excessive business regulations."

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Nightmare Time

NEW YORK, AUGUST 4

The sudden thrust by the Croats at the expense of neighboring Serbs tells us not very much except that there is armed life in the area and that finally something stopped what was appearing to be a Blitzkrieg by Bosnian Serbs. Their objective has been, for four years, Sarajevo. Collateral triumphs have been the discrediting of the United Nations, NATO, and U.S. foreign policy.

The break in America from the isolation of yesteryear was the result of the reduction from thirty days to thirty minutes of the traversability of the space that had shielded America from Europe for four centuries. The principled arguments—revisionist but nonetheless convincing—against our entry into the First World War were decreasingly safe when used to oppose our entry into the Second World War. It is of course a hackneyed irony to remark that Sarajevo triggered the First World War and is now a point of conflagration that could trigger, if not a world war, a collapse of the scaffolding we hoped to build in the postwar years.

The primary cause of disillusion with world-mindedness after the Second World War was the diplomatic defeats we suffered in Europe and then in Asia. Having joined the Allies in a mission initiated to restore sovereignty to Poland, we were maneuvered into the totalitarian desolation of much of Europe under Stalin. At the other end of the world, having triumphed over imperialist Japan we stood by helpless against the Communization of China under Mao Tse-tung. To say the least, this damaged the sensibilities of those Americans who dreamed of making the world safe for democracy. But a further and protracted jolt was the formation of the United Nations. Not that the idea of an international body was wrong, but that the UN became almost overnight the diplomatic ganglion of hypocrisy. There the Soviet Union dominated the votes of the Third World. After jubilation over the retreat of British imperialism in India, Americans stood shocked and aghast when Pandit Nehru refused to condemn the Soviet tanks that gunned down students in Budapest who sought a few scraps of liberty. The United Nations, in short, didn't

work, and indeed sheltered the most impudent rhetorical hypocrisies in diplomatic history.

After the Nuremberg trials the civilized world seemed to be united on at least one proposition, namely that genocide would not again be tolerated. Well, it was tolerated. When it happened in Africa we managed discreet sighs and, in the closet, whispered that civilization had yet to reach certain parts of the world. But then with the end of Communism a refreshment of international idealism temporarily took over. The UN, for one thing, would no longer serve as an echo chamber for Soviet lies and hypocrisy. Then along came Yugoslavia, RIP.

There to the north, northeast, and west loomed the mighty power of Russia, Germany, France, and England. Diplomatic efforts to arrest ethnic cleansing crystallize as games concocted to engage the attention of students at war colleges. In the background geographically, in the foreground geopolitically, was the United States. On the one hand it was clearly the burden of Europe to handle the mess in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, we were the undisputed superpower, and it turned out that we could not breathe the requisite concern into our NATO allies. And so, month after month, year after year, nothing is done except that people kill each other and latent hostilities are stimulated. There is the Serb affinity for Russians and vice versa, the Western European historical affinity for Croatia. The Muslim world correctly questions whether there is any reliable concern in Europe for aggressions at its expense. The Greeks watch nervously at movement in the other Macedonia, and the Turks, however frequently they are reminded of their own historical excesses, let

it be known that they are brothers of the Bosnians being killed, tortured, raped.

In New Jersey if year after year a county can't manage its own schools, Trenton takes the schools over. The metaphor is easily resisted: How exactly does NATO take over Belgrade? But that is the wrong approach in a century in which the question, How do we split an atom? was answered: We shall proceed to do so.

The NATO enterprise is discredited. The Europeans are mired in their spiritual trough, and the feeling in America is, more and more: Two hot wars and one cold war are enough for one century. You figure it out.

Unhappily, history won't stand by to permit us our alienation. The reason we are entangled in Europe—and in the Pacific—is that we can't escape the consequences of what happens there. □

What About The 'Overclass'?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 1

The author Michael Lind was interviewed on the (indispensable) *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* and was questioned about some of the theses of his book *The Next American Nation* [reviewed this issue, p. 60]. One of these is that the United States is headed toward a "Brazilianization" of society, by which Mr. Lind meant that the affluent class is self-perpetuating and is sealing itself off from the rest of the country. How? By sending its sons and daughters to the most privileged colleges, taking refuge in private country clubs and mansions, intermarrying, and so on. The greatest entitlement in the hands of this overclass, said Mr. Lind, is the institution of the "legacy" in the primary colleges and universities.

Interviewer David Gergen came up with a half-dozen super-prominent men in American political life who had not attended the fancy colleges. Furthermore, 45 per cent of top chief executives either dropped out of college or graduated from a second- or third-category college. How did Mr. Lind account for that? Oh. Well, he wasn't saying that meritocracy was dead in America, in fact it is more pronounced than it was in the nineteenth century. It just isn't meritocratic enough.

It is a very old complaint, that which is leveled at the wealthy and their progeny. It certainly attracted the attention of Andrew Carnegie, who favored a 100 per cent inheritance tax. The current federal estate tax is very high—60 per cent; 80 to 85 per cent on money left to grandchild-



"Hey, I can empathize, buddy—I'm a victim of my environment too."

dren, beyond the generation-skipping allowance. The federal estate tax doesn't yield all that much revenue (the 1995 estimate is \$15.6 billion, or 1.2 per cent of total federal receipts) and definitive studies haven't been done—because they can't be done—to measure the economic impact of the high taxes. We do not know how many industrious and inventive Americans switch into overdrive instead of continuing to chug-chug up the hill to accumulate more to leave their children and grandchildren. The avoidance of taxes is a primal urge, like sex and patriotism and religion, and lighthearted redistributionists are well counseled to be aware of this, though when the jacobinical fever rages, people don't care whether they are stifling production with their taxes. All that they care about is that the Haves shall have less.

On the matter of the "legacy" to entry into fancy colleges, Mr. Lind is on insecure ground again. It is true that at the margin, the practice goes on. But it is very far from being comprehensive. Twenty-five years ago the admissions director of Yale University got into serious trouble with the alumni after several years' application of what very nearly amounted to an anti-legacy policy, during which he reduced to 13 per cent (from about 18) the sons of Eli admitted.

The question was raised, For what reason are alumni expected to give funds to their alma mater? Yes, perhaps, as a measure of gratitude for education and experiences received. And yes, because they wish their alma mater to continue to retain fine scholars. But first-rate scholars are going to be teaching somewhere—they don't have to teach at any one university. At about that time (the Sixties), Professor C. Vann Woodward, the distinguished Southern historian, was lured away from Johns Hopkins by Yale at considerable expense. This move did not further "education": the kids are as bright at Johns Hopkins as at Yale; and anyway, professors at that level are hired primarily to write books and teach graduate students.

To contribute to Yale to make it possible for Vann Woodward to move there traces to a perfectly understandable pride, tribal in character, in maintaining in first-rate condition the university to which the alumnus hopes his son or daughter will one day be admitted. Mr. Lind's thesis isn't really persuasive unless somebody comes up with Animal House students congestively present at Yale or Harvard or Stanford. That won't happen because such folk don't, *pace* Lind, get admitted. No alumnus is going to yell, whatever his contributions to his alma mater, if his son is turned down after coming in with a combined SAT score in three digits.

An old bark, an old tree, bringing to mind that the problem in Brazil is that they don't behave as we do. □

Newt Draws Fire

NEW YORK, JULY 28

It's interesting how many are left feeling insecure when the subject of Newt Gingrich comes up. Dan Quayle, Spiro Agnew, Jesse Helms—they can be handled with that equanimity that mainlines its way onto critics who are confident they are peering down on their targets. Newt Gingrich doesn't work for them in quite that way. For one thing he has a very advanced academic degree; for another, he is politically defter than most of his critics, and nothing generates hurt like yet one more primary victory by Tricky Dick. Gingrich stitched together a year ago the unthinkable, a proposed legislative agenda for a Republican Congress. The whole world laughed at such presumption and the next thing we knew, the House of Representatives became Republican. They stopped making certain kinds of jokes about FDR after 100 days, but in the case of Newt, the need to laugh begins to sound like the aristocracy in the Winter Palace, continuing to twit while the Revolution gathered outdoors.

Consider Maureen Dowd of the *New York Times*. Her recent assault on Gingrich was ostensibly triggered by his confession that he was not schooled in foreign policy (he had blurted out that Taiwan should be recognized diplomatically). But Miss Dowd doesn't conceal the totality of her concern over the Speaker. She entitled her piece "The Loss of the Dodo"; led off by remarking that Newt was "sickeningly" cute; and ended by confessing her "distress" at the prospect of "the Speaker frolicking in the woods with a bunch of guys in sheets and dresses."

The "cute" business was a reaction to Mr. Gingrich's having told a visiting witness that she was welcome to "come see my dinosaur." The reference is to a facsimile skull kept in Mr. Gingrich's office, which wouldn't strike most people as "cute," so long as the addict stops short of dinosaur figures on his stationery or calls for a National Dinosaur Day.

As to the foreign-policy statement (Why don't we just recognize Taiwan?), in the same issue that carried Miss Dowd's column, the *Times* ran a major story about Taiwan and the loss of national identity by its people. Taiwan is large enough and important enough to warrant recognition, but we have here the problem of, "If you

had some ham we could have a ham sandwich, if I had some bread"—neither Taiwan nor China will affirm the obvious, which is that modern Taiwan is as much a zone of modern China as Algeria is a zone of France.

Then there is the frolicking in the woods.

Miss Dowd noted that Mr. Gingrich would spend the weekend at the Bohemian Grove, "the exclusive men's club in northern California. . . . The camp is a saturnalia of juvenilia, with a lot of old white rich guys running around naked and in sheets, costumed as Druids. They drink dawn-to-dusk gin fizzes, relieve themselves on redwoods, and put on theatricals where they dress up like women."

Well yes, but if you are playing the part of a woman in a theatrical, what *should* you dress like? Miss Dowd might as well have written that she doesn't understand why the people in the Metropolitan Opera chorus go around clutching spears.

About five years ago, CBS's Leslie Stahl did an interview with me about women joining the Century Association. A few minutes into the discussion she interrupted herself. "Would you be willing to talk about the Bohemian Club?"

Well, I said, it isn't something we're supposed to talk about. . . .

"Well," Miss Stahl pressed, "what about this business of going around naked?"

I lowered my voice. "In the years I've been going to the Bohemian Club," I whispered, "I have seen men naked only in the shower, and now I'll tell you something in confidence." Her eyes hungered for my revelation. The camera whirled. "*The Admissions Committee of the Bohemian Grove does not like to admit to membership people who shower with their clothes on.*" Miss Stahl simply smiled, gamely.

Did Maureen Dowd believe that men in the Grove go about naked? No, she did not. Two days before her story appeared she telephoned an old friend, an ex-member of the Club, who told her the naked business was sheer fantasy—"It just doesn't happen." Perhaps Miss Dowd thought to be cute by perpetuating the legend, and in a way she succeeded, and I'd even go so far as to deny that she was at this point sickeningly cute.

Saturnalia? Those in the Bohemian Grove who drink gin fizzes all day long (I know of two) drink gin fizzes from dawn to dusk wherever they are. A drunkard need not bother to travel to California in order to indulge his habit. But then Miss Dowd would rather spice up her column than report facts, proving only that the antagonism to Newt conquers all, even if it does not excuse all. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

THE GIMLET EYE

ANDREW FERGUSON

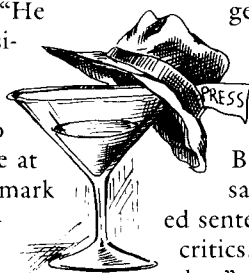
MANY interesting things were said following the death of Jerry Garcia, the tubby, nine-fingered, and now actually dead lead guitarist of the Grateful Dead. They rose to various pitches of extravagance. My favorite came from the very top. President Clinton, who seems compelled to reflect aloud on every headline, took to MTV to wag his chins solemnly over "the demons that [Jerry] dealt with." These days nameless demons are always called in to account for drug addiction; they sound much more important than the real cause, which is an irresistible urge to get high. The President then shuffled off the psychologist's lab smock and donned the rock critic's tie-dyed T-shirt. "He was just a great talent," the President said. "He was a genius."

He was a genius. We all know that Bill Clinton is prepared to say virtually anything to anyone at any given moment, but this remark was more than a desperate pander to yet another constituency he feels slipping from his grasp. It may even have been sincere. It is a comment to treasure in any case, for it so well exemplifies the uncontrolled nature of rock 'n' roll utterance. Whenever two or more rock fans are gathered together, hyperbole is the preferred idiom. Without much effort I can think of a dozen rockers who have been certified as geniuses by critics or fans or both: Bob Dylan, for example, and Eric Clapton, Pete Townshend, Stevie Wonder, David Byrne, all the Beatles—except Ringo, of course. Hyperbole has its limits.

The tendency to overstate is as old as the music itself. I remember a Chicago deejay from my youth, Dick Biondi. At odd moments during his show the music would stop and Dick would permit a few seconds of dead air. Then, in a voice swollen with solemnity, he would say: "Ladies and gentlemen—the

greatest—singer—in the history—of the world." After a few more seconds of silence he would play "All Shook Up" or "Return to Sender." Biondi himself was not a genius.

A teenager on the make often mistakes an explosion of hormones for the mysterious metaphysics of love. Something similar seems to grip the earnest rock fan when he tries to articulate his fondness for pop music. The fondness is perfectly understandable, but very often the talk about the music, as opposed to the music alone, strikes me as beyond all comprehension. Anyone who has ever read the rock reviews in *Rolling Stone* or the *New York Times* has to admit that the



genre tends to generate confusion. The reviewers are always college educated, which obviously doesn't help. But more than a B.A. in Am. Studies is necessary to account for the heated sentences let loose by our rock critics. "The glistening glissandos," the critic will write, "were achingly teased from the shimmering sonorities of his Les Paul axe as they tunneled beneath the brackish eddies of the drummer's snarling tom-toms." A great deal of energy must be expended composing such sentences, but you have to read a little further to discover that they are meant to describe a song called "Cornhole Mon Amour."

It doesn't help matters that rock stars seem to die off as soon as they are manufactured; the high mortality rate means that on any given day of the week, some rock critic somewhere is composing either an obituary or a memorial, and the practice, over time, tends to infect a writer's style with the fatal virus of self-importance. The Garcia obits showed the terrible effects. "The miracle of Jerry Garcia, really," wrote the *New York Times*, in an editorial, "is that he managed to live so long."

This is a staggering understatement—perhaps the only understatement published during the entire mourning peri-

od. But the rest of the editorial, a meditation on the way in which Garcia's music "stitched together three generations," was more typically overwrought, as the editorialist succumbed to phrases like "rock anthem" and "generational icons."

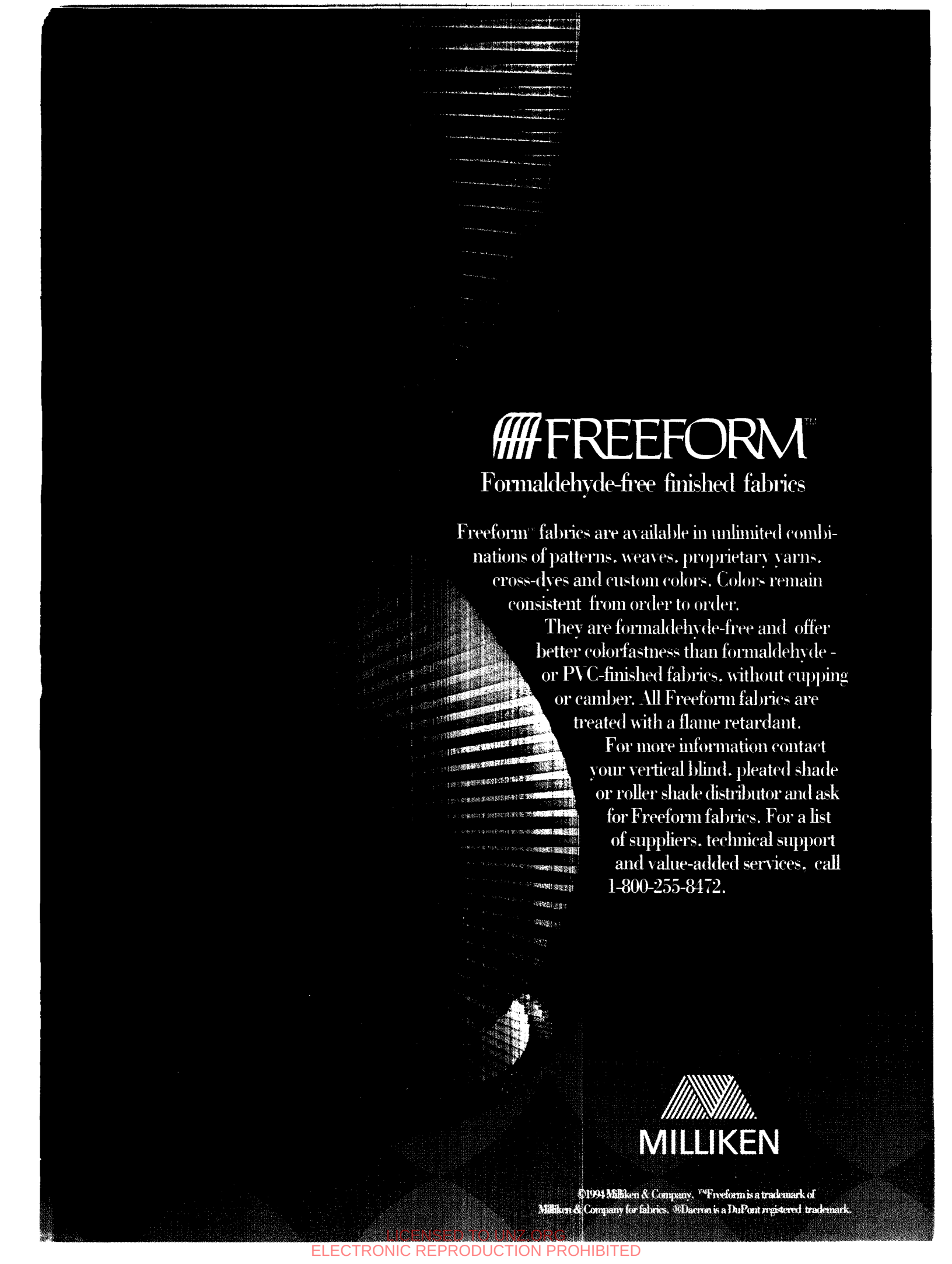
None of this would be so worrisome except that baby boomers, as children of rock 'n' roll, have managed to import their tendency toward exaggeration into the culture's larger discourse. If you follow our brave and bold new generation of politicians you see it daily. Bill Clinton may call a third-tier rock guitar player a "genius," but the President's Republican doppelganger, Newt Gingrich, shows an even greater gift for rhetorical extravagance. "This is the single most amazing event in the past quarter-century," the Speaker might say, on the occasion of, I don't know, being served breakfast. "It is very, very crucial that the toast, frankly, be served buttered side up." And the orange juice! "It is literally a juice that is so totally dynamic . . ." Et cetera.

FOR the hyper-articulate baby-boomer it is never enough that breakfast be tasty and well served; and a professional entertainer like Jerry Garcia can never get away with being merely a pleasant public personality who wrote a handful of charming songs. He must be an artist, and a genius, to boot. I suppose that this habitual overstatement betrays a kind of intellectual insecurity—an insecurity shared not only by aging baby-boomers but by adolescents everywhere. The *Times* editorialist recounted a poignant anecdote about a teenager and a "forty-something" New Yorker meeting on a bus: the teen admired the old fellow's Grateful Dead sandals, and their souls commingled.

"What bound the generations of Deadheads together?" wondered the editorialist, his thumb raw and red from ferocious sucking. A fondness for sandals, yes, and a lack of cabfare, of course. But this intellectual insecurity, too: a desire to gild the lily, to pretend that our slightest diversions involve the greatest intensities of feeling. That delusion is a signature of the boomer generation, and it shows no sign of abating. It has even survived the ultimate Grateful Dead joke: What did one Deadhead say to the other when they ran out of dope?

"Hey, this band sucks!" □

Mr. Ferguson is a senior editor of The Weekly Standard.



FREEFORM™

Formaldehyde-free finished fabrics

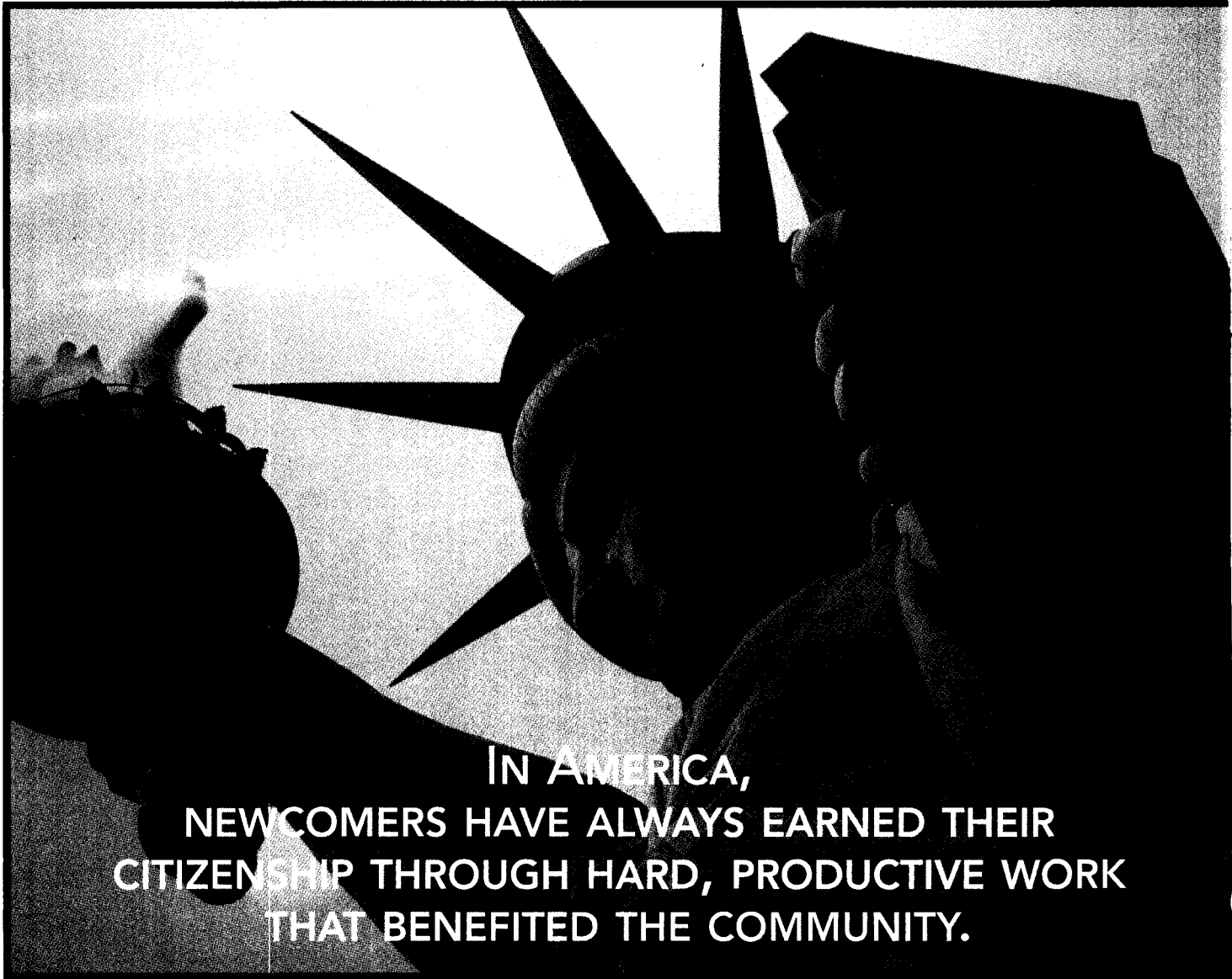
Freeform® fabrics are available in unlimited combinations of patterns, weaves, proprietary yarns, cross-dyes and custom colors. Colors remain consistent from order to order.

They are formaldehyde-free and offer better colorfastness than formaldehyde- or PVC-finished fabrics, without cupping or camber. All Freeform fabrics are treated with a flame retardant.

For more information contact your vertical blind, pleated shade or roller shade distributor and ask for Freeform fabrics. For a list of suppliers, technical support and value-added services, call 1-800-255-8472.



©1994 Milliken & Company. ™Freeform is a trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. ®Dacron is a DuPont registered trademark.



**IN AMERICA,
NEWCOMERS HAVE ALWAYS EARNED THEIR
CITIZENSHIP THROUGH HARD, PRODUCTIVE WORK
THAT BENEFITED THE COMMUNITY.**

THAT'S A TRADITION WE RESPECT.

Companies must earn their citizenship, too. For Mitsubishi Motors Corporation, the path has been one of commitment to the U.S. economy, with investment in American manufacturing and American jobs.

It began in 1981 with Mitsubishi Motor Sales of America. Then came Diamond-Star Motors. Mitsubishi Motors Credit America. The Mitsubishi Motors America Design Studio. Value Rent-A-Car.

And over 500 authorized dealerships.

All of which brought over 20,000 jobs and millions of dollars in investments to America. In return, American workers have given us the all-new 1995 Eclipse and the 1995 Galant, both built at Diamond-Star Motors, just renamed Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America.

We thank America for being a land of opportunity. And a place where mutual effort can be mutually rewarded.



MITSUBISHI
The New Thinking in Automobiles™